CHRYSLER APPROVED LUBRICATION
Arditi Service Station
Such Pasa Rd., cor. Rehov Kivol, Tel Aviv

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 15, 1951

# THE JERUSALEM POST

12 Pages
PRICE: 60 PRUTA
VOL. XXVII, No. 7335

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GLOBE TRAVEL SERVICE LTD.

# First Congress in Israel Told of Great Ordeals Ahead in Building of State

## Column One

By David Courtney

ZIONISM has done what it set out to do. Not many movements born of however great human need and nurtured by however passionate an idealism, have come so swiftly to a goal so substantially that of the vision which founded them. The impact of the accomplishment upon the force that created it is necessarily great. The difference between Israel the deed and Israel the conception is obviously and logically an impressive difference, which, in effect, is the difference between the sovereign fact of the State and the movements and men that contributed to its birth. As the whole is greater than any part of it, there is little doubt that the sovereign State of Israel is greater than any of its impulses.

NO good Zionist, present yesterday at the ceremonies on Mount Herzl and in the hall of the Convention Centre is likely to contest these simple facts, just as no good citizen of Israel is likely to contest the fact that the whole will suffer if any part of it disintegrates. The falterings of World Zionism are the consequence of its having accomplished its main ideal. It is aggravated by the fact that the necessity for the Movement, or something like it, is still great, whilst the new purpose creating that necessity is undefined and only vaguely comprehended. The twenty-third congress is not like any of the other twenty-two. The other twenty-two, whatever may have been their conflicts, were in no doubt of the common purpose of all Zionists. The twenty-third is uncertain.

A SOVEREIGN, independent people can be nobody's debtor, except emotionally, without ceasing to be either wholly sovereign or wholly independent. Those who create their freedom at the barricades at the same time create their master; and those who, from afar, urge them on with generous help urge them to independence of those who help as well as those who hinder. It argues no disloyalty to the ideal of World Zionism and no ingratitude to world Zionists that the State of Israel should regard itself as the accomplished fact of the Zionist ideal and therefore superior to the means that made it so. That superiority is inherent in its own status.

WORLD Jewry has splendidly demonstrated that it is able to support its own creation, the independent State of Israel, in the performance of what was the main driving force behind the creators and has become the main raison d'etre of the State itself—the bringing in of every Jew who wants to come, his reasonable settlement and his complete integration into the economic and social life of the country. The State alone makes that ingathering and absorption possible. World Jewry can speed the gigantic task, hasten the work of transition from immigrant to citizen, and contribute towards the consolidation of the State. Somewhere along that proud way may lie an adjustment of the World Zionist Movement to what has come to be the essential purpose both of World Zionism and of the State of Israel. The national problem has been magnificently solved. The human problem yet remains to be solved.

*Jerusalem, August 15.*

### AFTER MIDNIGHT

The U.S. House of Representatives last night authorized the largest single military construction programme ever presented to Congress. It called for the allocation of [illegible] in addition to the [illegible] military appropriations measure passed last week.

## Both Sides Go Slow on Oil

TEHERAN, Tuesday (Reuter).—The Persian Cabinet decided today to delay decision on British "oil peace" proposals until after another meeting of the two delegations tomorrow. The delay was decided on after Mr. Richard Stokes, the British oil envoy, had told the Persians he was willing to amplify the proposals made last night.

Persian Cabinet ministers and oil delegates were guardedly optimistic after a five-hour Cabinet meeting today round the bedside of Prime Minister Mossadeq.

The Finance Minister, Ali Varasteh, said later: "The Stokes proposals are incomplete and unclear. A final decision may be possible when amplification is received." Another oil delegate said: "Agreement is still possible on the basis of the Stokes proposals, but several points remain to be cleared up." Mr. Stokes described the proposals earlier as "the best the Persians are likely to get anywhere."

### Discussion First

His offer of amplification was apparently made to avert any precipitate Persian decision. It was believed that Mr. Stokes wanted both sides to have every opportunity for full discussion of the proposals before reaching a definite decision.

Informed sources said the Persians were particularly concerned over the question of compensation for the Anglo-Iranian Company's assets in Persia, which Mr. Stokes has offered to hand over to them. They said that the Persians also wanted to hear Mr. Stokes' suggestions on the composition of the new company which would operate the South Persian oil industry.

One of the difficulties is to achieve a compromise between the Persian desire to run the oil industry and the reluctance of British oil workers to take orders from the Persians.

President Truman's personal representative, Mr. Averell Harriman, called on the Shah this morning. No official statement on the purpose of his visit was made, but informed sources said Mr. Harriman and the Shah discussed the British proposals.

## Air and Sea Power Dispute in Korea

MUNSAN, Tuesday (AP). — The deadlocked Kaesong armistice talks centred today on an argument over the importance of Allied air and naval supremacy. The dispute arose during a discussion of the stalemate over the location of the proposed demilitarized zone.

Lieutenant General Nam Il, chief Communist delegate, said the Communist demand for a truce line on the 38th Parallel is unshakeable. Vice-Admiral C. Turner Joy, head of the U.N. delegation, pointed out that Allied planes and warships "are prosecuting war behind your front lines, which is not duplicated behind our lines."

A U.N. spokesman said this remark was in reply to a long attack by Nam Il attempting to "discredit the independent effectiveness of the air and naval power which the U.N. Command would relinquish in an armistice."

### Trial of Jordan 10

AMMAN, Tuesday (Reuter). — The trial of ten people charged with complicity in the assassination of King Abdullah on July 20 will begin before a military court on August 18, it was officially announced today.

The trial will be public but attendance will be restricted to holders of special permits.

## Death of William Randolph Hearst

BEVERLY HILLS, California, Tuesday. — William Randolph Hearst, the American newspaper world's greatest tycoon, died here today at the age of 88. He had been ill for some years.

He was born to a wealthy family and his father bought him a newspaper when he was 24. Within a few years he had amassed enough capital — by his sensationalism, vitriolic political campaigns and his appeal to the lowest common denominator in the public mind — to buy several other papers and to launch "yellow journalism." By 1935 he owned 25 papers, 13 magazines and several radio stations.

He built circulations by leading violent campaigns which were rarely successful. However, in 1897-98 he denounced Spain bitterly and war followed, while after berating President McKinley in 1901 the President was assassinated. Mr. Hearst had written: "If bad institutions and bad men can only be got rid of by killing, then the killing must be done."

It was always his ambition to be President himself but he only reached Congress for two terms. His Anglophobia led him to be pro-German even after the U.S. entered World War I. Later he devoted his energies to advocating an English-speaking union against Bolshevism. Most recently he was indiscriminately xenophobic. He filled his huge castle of San Simeon with Europe's treasures, some of which he never unpacked. It was generally supposed that Orson Welles' film "Citizen Kane," portrayed Mr. Hearst's career.

### Parlour Talks Fail

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, Tuesday (INA).—Unofficial efforts by some Security Council members to persuade Egypt to lift the Suez Canal blockade voluntarily have so far proven fruitless, it was learned today.

Some effort is being made to persuade the three sponsoring powers to soften their resolution calling on Egypt to lift the ban. The Americans are thus reported to be rejecting any changes, and expect the resolution to come before the Council on Thursday. They are not certain, however, that Egypt will heed its terms.

## Bond Sales In U.S. Hit $74m.

A total of $74m. in Independence Bonds, consisting of $34m. in cash and $40m. in pledges, had been sold in the U.S. by the beginning of August, Mr. Eliezer Kaplan the Finance Minister, told the Cabinet at its weekly session in Jerusalem yesterday, a spokesman said following the meeting.

Mr. Kaplan, who was in the chair in the absence of Mr. Ben Gurion, announced that a conference would be held in Washington next month to plan and organize the 1952 Bond Drive. Cabinet Ministers will participate in the conference, but the nomination of Government representatives will be left to the new Government, a spokesman said.

Mr. Kaplan also reported on the prospects of a U.S. grant-in-aid for Israel.

### Sharett Report

The Cabinet heard a report from Mr. Moshe Sharett, the Foreign Minister, on recent developments in the Suez dispute, and on the invitation by the Palestine Conciliation Commission to a peace conference in Paris.

Mr. Sharett reported no change in Israel's attitude on the Suez question, and it is understood that the Government is still demanding a decision by the Security Council.

The spokesman said the Government had received no communication on attempts to settle the issue outside the Security Council, and that it had no knowledge of a visit to Israel reportedly planned by Mr. Averell Harriman.

The debate on the P.C.C. invitation will take place at the next Cabinet meeting.

The Cabinet decided to encourage greater coordination between Government building projects and the local planning authorities. Although the Town Planning Law does not bind the Government, it was resolved that Government offices undertaking building projects should submit their plans to the Ministry of the Interior, which is to transmit them to the appropriate local building authorities for coordination with other projects. This decision, however, does not affect the construction of the new Kiryа in Jerusalem.

Rabbi I.M. Levin, the Minister of Social Welfare, and Mr. Y. Geri, the Minister of Trade and Industry, who was to report on the Bond Drive, were also absent from the meeting.

The communique issued following the Cabinet meeting follows: At its weekly meeting yesterday, the Cabinet heard reports from the Finance Minister on the Independence Loan in the U.S. and from the Foreign Minister on foreign policy developments.

Conditions were fixed for a city construction ordinance for buildings being built on Government order. General principles were laid down for State transactions by various Government offices.

## Ben Gurion Calls For United Forces

**Prime Minister David Ben Gurion last night warned the Congress delegates that the challenges that faced Israel and World Jewry were infinitely greater than the "titanic challenges and accomplishments" met and achieved thus far.**

Asserting the sovereignty of the State of Israel and of its citizens, he called on the Congress to join the Government of Israel in laying down and coordinating the path to "free and independent nationhood in the historic Jewish homeland" and in securing "the means necessary to complete the Ingathering of the Exiles and their absorption."

"Our generation has been privileged to be the last under subjugation and the first in redemption," he said. "The epoch of salvation and of redemption is still at its beginning, and a long and difficult way lies ahead; and even in this initial stage our hand alone has not set it nor were we spared from chaos.

### Not Only Valour

"Our ancient faith, from the dawn of our nationhood, bred within us the vision of latter days, the revelation of Jewish and human redemption, and fostered the spirit of valour and stubborn tenacity which turned the Jewish people into an indomitable and indestructible nation.

"But passive faith and valour alone could not have helped us to survive to today."

Mr. Ben Gurion went on to survey the efforts and the dogged perseverance which had preceded the creation of the State. Enumerating the "progenitors of settlement" in the 19th Century, stressing the principles of labour and defence buttressed in the Second Aliya, evaluating the contribution of Herzl as creator of the "political movement without which the State could not have come into being," and emphasizing the role of such events as the Balfour Declaration and the U.N. Resolution of November 29, 1947, Mr. Ben Gurion paid tribute to the "valour of our single defenders and saviours, the precious sons and daughters of our people who gave their lives for the freedom of homeland and nation which they loved so well.

"Without detracting from the record of creative and political triumphs handed down to us by three pioneering generations ... the simple yet frightening truth must be told: But for these, the State of Israel would not have come into being." These, he said, were 80 per cent "Sabra," and 20 per cent from the Dispersion.

After calling on the Congress to rise and pay homage to the fallen of the War of Liberation, he warned that though "there is pride in the resurgence of the State throughout the Dispersion.. we must not toy with the delusion that our outstanding triumphs have secured and assured the peace of our state."

### Few Among Many

"The historic fact remains that we are few, though our numbers have doubled... We are surrounded on all sides by an enemy people who hold an area at least 200 times as large as ours... who live in a feudalistic regime of backwardness and stagnation... we live in a powder-keg world, which might be set afire by any spark... and are therefore bound to remain constantly and unflaggingly on the alert."

Defence, however, was only one of three major problems facing Israel and the Zionist Movement. There is the task of Ingathering and absorbing the overwhelming tide of Jews who were plucked from the conflagration which consumed six million, and from other less violent, but not less hateful environments.

Unskilled and backward, the immigration needs vast resources of capital, skilled and pioneering manpower, he said. "But the tremendous difficulties devolve not only on immigrant absorption, but also on the welding of immigrants: boundless love and infinite patience are needed to cast them in a single national crucible and to evolve once more one loyal unit of a nation."

In addition, he said, there was the vast problem of the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



*The flag-bedecked Convention Centre is shown here as it appeared yesterday. The three emblems are those of the State of Israel, the City of Jerusalem, and, below, that of the Congress.* Photo by Hirshbain

## Opening Ceremony On Mt. Herzl

POST Reporter

On Mt. Herzl yesterday afternoon tribute was paid to Dr. Herzl at a brief impressive ceremony marking the formal opening of the 23rd Zionist Congress.

As the Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben Gurion entered the sun-drenched tomb site, three squads of Army, Navy and Air Force men snapped to attention while a bugler sounded off. Accompanying the Prime Minister were the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. S.Z. Shragai, and members of the Cabinet, Jewish Agency Executive, Knesset and World Zionist leaders.

Two national flags and the Herzl flag were then raised by a representative of each branch of service. Mr. Zvi Friedland movingly recited the opening proclamation and Rabbi Y. L. Maimon pronounced the *Shehehеyanu*.

Twenty-two flags of each of the past Congresses were carried in by children of various youth parties, following which passages from Herzl's writings and the Declaration of Independence were recited. A children's choir sang Psalm 122:

*I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the House of the Lord: Our feet shall stand within thy gates O Jerusalem..*

Cantor N. Bar Zakai chanted *El Male Rahamim* and the 30-minute ceremony was concluded by Mr. Friedland's reading as drums rolled.

## 'Maintain the Bridge Between Israel and Diaspora'—Locker

Calling upon the Zionist movement to take up the challenge of "maintaining a living bridge" between the people of Israel and the Diaspora, Mr. Berl Locker, Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, last night opened the Congress sessions at the Convention Centre in Jerusalem.

"The time for 'declarative' Zionism is gone," he said. "Zionism today must fulfil its daily precepts through every Zionist, through the highest collective efforts of the whole people.

"From the point of view of mobilizing financial resources we must free the people from the undesirable approach of philanthropy and charity and assisting the underprivileged, and implant in its place the proud consciousness of the privilege and duty of being a full partner of the State of Israel and in implementing the return to Zion and the reintegration of the people in its land.

"This partnership, in its effort and responsibility, is unbounded and unconditional. The Jews of all countries no less than the citizens of Israel, must hold themselves responsible for the realization of *Kibbutz Galuyot* in the State of Israel.

"The loyalty of every Jew to the country in which he lives and from whose citizenship rights he benefits, is unquestioned. At the same time, however, I would say that from the point of view of *Kibbutz Galuyot* and the ensuring of its implementation in the State of Israel, every Jew, wherever he be, must look upon himself

(Continued on Page 5, Col. 2)

## 'Zionism Must Give Unconditional Aid'

The Zionist Movement must secure the help of Israel and must be "pledged to unconditional help to the State," in order to continue is fundamental role of "mobilizing and coordinating the efforts of the Jewish people in its partnership with Israel in the fulfilment of the Zionist vision in its totality." This was the message of Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, to the opening session of the Congress last night.

Declaring that none of the four aims of Zionism had been fully realized, he reiterated them:

1) the establishment of a State
2) to concentrate at least several million Jews in the State,
3) to make the State Jewish "in more than the superficial sense... by welding new forms of life, creating a new society, shaping a new reality," and,
4) to "secure and maintain the unity of the Jewish people so long as it is not yet fully concentrated in its own territory."

The first of these aims was still not a fact, Dr. Goldmann said, because "the act of creating a state is in itself no guarantee for its future,

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## From Striving To Achievement

**Members of the Israel Cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister, took their places on the dais, alongside their former colleagues of the Zionist Executive and Jewish Agency, for the opening of the 23rd Zionist Congress, at the Convention Centre in Jerusalem last night.**

Marking the transition from striving to achievement, the participation of the Israel Government in the Congress proceedings, as delegates, imparted from the start a sense of realism which is sure to key-note the rest of the Congress.

The opening in the cool, spacious, well-lighted and well-ventilated auditorium was bare of all ceremonial. For the first time in 54 years there was no Gentile Mayor to speak a conventional welcome, and no representatives of foreign governments to witness their detached interest by their presence.

The Congress had grown up, it was meeting on Zionism's own soil, neither a tenant nor sub-tenant. Zionism had cradled every member of Government of the country which was host to the gathering, and the people they represented were flesh of its flesh, part of the deliberative assembly.

The senior of the three survivors of the Basle Congress in 1897, Dr. M. Schalitt, sounded the opening with three firm raps of the gavel. The other two veterans, Prof. Joseph Klausner and Dr. Ebner, were beside him. The Chairman of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Berl Locker, took his cue from the gavel's summons in declaring the opening.

### Sober Gratitude

The sober tone was maintained during the entire first sitting. Consciousness of the revolution, from hope to reality, was not absent, but it was expressed in terms of solemn gratefulness rather than boastfulness. Every word spoken from President Weizmann's message (read by his Adviser Dr. Leo Kohn) to the addresses by Mr. Locker, Mr. Ben Gurion and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, was a subduing of understandable pride and an underlining of the awe-inspiring aspects of genesis.

No single problem crowding Israel's vista but was at least mentioned—from the nation's defence to the teaching of the newcomers under the unrestricted ingathering how to eat, dress, keep clean and live in peace with fellow-newcomers who differed, one group from the other, in habits of food, clothing and sanitation.

The warning, ringing but not meant to be grim, fell to be uttered by Mr. Ben Gurion. The difficulties surmounted, he said in effect, were as nothing to the challenges and hardships yet to be faced.

### Tasks Faced Alone

This warning alone was enough to mark out this Congress from those that preceded it. The implication was clear; we were now on our own, and it would take the joint exertions of the entire people to meet the challenge.

The scholarly canvas by Mr. Locker led up to this challenge, and Dr. Goldmann began with it when he named Zionism's three objectives, and showed that with the birth of the State we were at the very beginning in all three—the State itself, the ingathering, and the building of the State in the spirit and the image of the Jew.

All who spoke defined the relations between the State and Jewish people—none more tersely and candidly than the Prime Minister. And thus the debate was launched which will take up the rest of the Congress and on which the very existence of the Zionist Organization may depend.

Chief Rabbi Herzog was festively attired, and wore a high hat. His colleague, Chief Rabbi Uziel, was in his customary robe and turban. Back of the Executive row on the tribune were Zionist veterans of two generations, and Israeli notables — senior Civil Servants, Jewish Agency officials, leaders of industry and of labour, Knesset members and such familiar Zionist Congress figures and functionaries as Dr. [illegible], Dr. Lauterbach, and Dr. [illegible].

Leaders of the General Zionist party in Israel, barred by the Congress Court owing to their boycott of the election, were also in evidence among the visitors.

Most of the ladies from abroad were dinner gowns, and some of the men also were evening dress.

## Only the Beginning—Weizmann

*The full text of President Weizmann's message follows:*

It is a source of deep disappointment and sorrow to me that I am prevented from attending this twenty-third Zionist Congress, the first to be held in Israel, the first to meet in the reborn State of Israel.

I should like, first of all, to express on behalf of the State of Israel a very hearty welcome to the delegates of the Congress.

There is a deep symbolism in the fact that the Zionist Congress has not met in our ancient land until it has become ours again. More than once was the attempt made in former years to convene the Congress in Palestine, but it always failed owing to external opposition. It is only now that we have become masters in our land that the Zionist Congress, which was one of the prime factors in our securing that mastery, has come to meet here. The Congress, too, was in Galuth until the People and the Land of Israel became free.

### Milestones on the Road

It is only now, since we have attained independence and Statehood, that we can fully appraise the paramount place held by the Zionist Congresses in the evolution of our movement. On the long trail to freedom, they were the great mile-stones at which the people halted to look back on the long weary road behind them and take counsel as to how to overcome the obstacles that still lay ahead.

These twenty-two Congresses from 1897—1946, beginning and ending in Basle, the city where the first Zionist programme was laid down, will go down as the most decisive national assemblies in the history of the Jewish people since the destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth.

As my mind wanders back to those great meetings, most of which I have attended personally since my student days, I stand in awed admiration before the memory of Theodor Herzl and a small band of his early collaborators, and before the galaxy of minds from all sections of our far-flung people who met every two years — except during the two World Wars — in a restless search for the revival and redemption of their people, many of them old men who had little hope of seeing the goal achieved in their lifetime.

Few of those early delegates have lived to see the rebirth of the State of Israel, but had it not been for the fire that burned in their souls, for their inexhaustible energy and their unfaltering faith, we would not be assembled here tonight. Looking back over these fifty years, what a bold and daring enterprise this was, — this effort to reorganize a scattered nation, to infuse it with a new self-respect and a new will to live, and to secure for it first the right to return and then the right to govern itself as a free nation in the land which in its heart it had never given up in all its martyrdom and exile.

### New Idealism

In this glorious hour when we are again met here on this unique forum which we created fifty years ago, let us first pay tribute to those who laid the foundations of our new Commonwealth. And then let us endeavour to recapture and preserve in our midst the enthusiasm, the selflessness, the energy and the lofty idealism which inspired their amazing effort. We shall need all these assets in the years ahead when we come to give reality and content to the framework of Statehood which we have now secured.

We are only beginning our real task. It is good that the members of this Congress should be able to see with their own eyes the reality of things here and come to appreciate how much still remains to be done. We have started the great task of gathering in our exiles from the lands of persecution. We have not yet begun their effective absorption in the life of this country. We have to turn them into members of a productive community and we have to weld them, together with those who came before, into one nation, inspired by a common will to live by a common way of life.

Tremendous tasks of technical development, of soil reclamation, agricultural expansion and industrial effort lie ahead of us. We have greatly to expand the framework of our educational system in the lower and higher grades. We have to promote scientific research. And we have to revive and to restate the spiritual heritage of Israel.

Statehood is to us not an end in itself. We are too old a people, we have seen too much of history's ups and downs, to be impressed by the mere paraphernalia of political independence. The State to us is but the necessary bulwark for ensuring our security and liberty, for protecting our way of life and enabling us to shape our community in accordance with our own aspirations and ideals. But it is these aspirations and ideals which are the essence of our task.

We want to shape our new Commonwealth in the large image of those timeless ideals which first found inspired expression in this our land and which have for all time shaped our national heritage and have also fixed the place of our land in the history of mankind.

We want to build up a creative and progressive community whose standards of life do not fall below those of the advanced nations of our days, but in promoting material progress and technical reconstruction, we are very much concerned to preserve the freedom of our soul.

In this tremendous task of material and spiritual reconstruction, the Zionist Movement is called upon to play a major part. It is the bridge that links those who supported our efforts from the early beginnings with the new State of Israel.

### Mutual Support

I am looking forward to a rich give-and-take between Israel and the great Jewish communities abroad who stood by us in the decisive hours of our struggle for freedom. I hope they will give us of their best — men, ideas, and support. We may be able for our part in the course of time to offer them a significant re-statement in terms of life, study and communal effort, of those traditions and aspirations which constitute the eternal heritage of the People of Israel.

May this twenty-third Zionist Congress add a new and significant chapter to the history of our great movement. May it pave the way for a new and creative synthesis between the great Jewish communities abroad and the reborn State of Israel.

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Tourists, ask for "Elite's" Export Chocolate in all First-Class Hotels!
No gift parcel, no gift certificate without the Best: ELITE CHOCOLATE!

**MIZRAHI**
Women's Organisation of America
IS AT HOME TO
*Guests from abroad and friends in Israel*
every Wednesday between 4 and 6 p.m.
In Tel Aviv:
BET ZEIROT MIZRAHI,
16 Rabbi Dov Hoz, Tel.5720
In Jerusalem:
BET ZEIROT MIZRAHI,
12 Rehov Rashi, Tel. 3069

## Social & Personal

Mayor Shragai has been presented the Key to the City of New Orleans by Mayor DeLesseps S. Morrison. The key, accompanied by Mr. Morrison's greetings, was brought to Israel by Rabbi Moshe Y. Goldberg.

Mr. Y. Orobus, Director of the United Israel Appeal and Chairman of the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association in Paris, is now in Israel.

Mr. Zvi Dienstein, head of the Israel Purchasing Mission in Geneva, is in Israel.

Mr. Shlomo Bitti, of the Israel Immigration Office in Athens, is here to attend the Zionist Congress and to discuss emigration from Greece with the authorities here.

Mr. Caesar Stein arrived yesterday to make final arrangements for the opening of the Uruguayan Legation in Tel Aviv at the end of this month.

Mr. David Har-Even and Mr. Eliezer Ron, of the Post Office Engineering Section, left by air for Geneva yesterday to attend a telecommunication experts' meeting there.

Mr. M. Prywes, formerly General Secretary of the World OSE Union, Paris, has been appointed Executive Secretary of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School. Dr. Prywes took up his post on August 1.

Professor I. Sardyato, head of the Indonesian delegation to UNESCO, left for home by air yesterday after a short stay in Israel.

Mr. H. Taibe left by Air France for the U.S. yesterday in connection with the establishment of a sanatorium at Poriah, near Tiberias.

Mrs. D. Agronsky left for Rome by air yesterday to attend the International Artists Congress.

Prof. Jacob Fine, Professor of Surgery at Harvard University, will lecture in English on "Research on Patho-Physiology of Shock Syndrome" under the auspices of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School and the Israel Medical Association at 7.30 this evening in Room 20 at Terra Sancta in Jerusalem.

**BIRTH**

LEIGH-MORGAN.—To Denise (née Robins) wife of A.H. Leigh-Morgan, on August 12, 1951, at Scottish Mission Hospital, Nazareth — a daughter.

**MARRIAGE**

WEINTRAUB—SCHMORAK

The marriage took place in Jerusalem on Tuesday, August 14, 1951, between Dov, son of Mr. and Mrs. David Weintraub, of Tel Aviv, and Shoshana, daughter of Dr. & Mrs. Emil Schmorak, of Jerusalem.

## Where to Go

**JERUSALEM**

8-6: Jerusalem Biblical Zoo: Romema.
9-1; 3-6: Exhibition of New Acquisitions: Line Engravings by Cecile Reims; Exhibit of the Month: Caryatid by Modigliani. Watercolour: Bezalel Museum.
10-1; 4-7: Special Exhibition of paintings and sculptures by Jerusalem artists: Artists House.
11-1: Students' Works: New Bezalel School of Arts & Crafts.
11.30-12.30: Film Shows of Israel: Keren Hayesod Head Office.

**TEL AVIV**

9-1; 4-8: Chagall Exhibition: Tel Aviv Museum.
8.30 p.m.: "Juno and the Peacock": Chamber Theatre: Mograbi Hall.

**HAIFA**

8 a.m.-5.30 p.m.: Theological and Scientific Library — Central Synagogue Bldg., Rehov Gilad.
10-1; 4-6: Municipal Museum, 1 Hassan Shukri Street.
9 p.m.: "Farewell Programme," Li-La-Lo Theatre with Leo Fuld and Orchestra; Armon Cinema.

THE ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
LAST CONCERT OF THE SEASON
*In honour of the Zionist Congress*
JERUSALEM — Edison
TONIGHT AT 9
Conductor:
WALTER GOEHR
Soloist:
ISAAC STERN

The Hebrew National
OPERA
TEL AVIV: Habimah
Tuesday, Aug. 21, 8.30 p.m.
Samson & Delilah
Opera in 3 acts (4 scenes) by Saint-Saens, with
EDIS DE PHILIPPE
D. Halpern, O. Reich, A. [illegible], D. Shari, S. Levin, M. [illegible], M. [illegible], S. David, M. Kobilia.
Conductor: M. GOLINKIN

# 'Unconditional Aid to Israel'

(Continued from Page One)

its destiny and its survival."

**It would be "criminal folly for the Zionist Movement, which set out to establish a Jewish State, to abandon its efforts before this State is truly secure, internally consolidated, not threatened by external foes, out of all danger zones and in every respect able to stand on its own feet."**

On the second point — the ingathering — he said that it had "only just begun." He asserted that "nothing greater had been accomplished in these last three years than this large immigration," and at the same time he noted that it was the "primary cause" of the country's economic difficulties.

Even after those Jews who are forced to emigrate here finally arrived this task will not be completed, he said.

"Zionism then will have to face its decisive test—that of educating Jews, particularly Jewish youth, to emigrate to Israel from countries where there is no 'must,' no objective compulsion for their emigration to Israel," he stated.

"Should the Zionist Movement not possess confidence and faith in its ability to fulfil this task, or even worse, should it be lacking the courage to undertake this obligation, it will lose an essential part of its historical raison d'etre. I hope that this Congress with all its possible differences of opinion as to the methods of *Halutz* work will agree on the basic principle that Zionism without *Halutziut* is sterile."

### The Pioneer Spirit

Pointing out that Zionism had always prided itself on being "more than just a nationalistic political movement," Dr. Goldmann said that the third aim of "creating something new spiritually" had also not been accomplished.

Quite to the contrary, he said, "this character of the *Yishuv*, this progressive, constructive, idealistic *halutz* character is something, I am sorry to say, which has lately been pushed into the background."

He said that this was understandable in view of the numerous, every day problems weighting down the authorities.

Maintaining the unity of the Jewish people as one people—the fourth Zionist aim—has always been one of the basic purposes of Jewish history, Dr. Goldmann said.

"If we have survived centuries of persecution and dispersion, it was only because we succeeded in maintaining the oneness of our people."

He warned against "leaving Jewish life without guidance," which he said, would result in a widening gap between Israel and the Diaspora. To prevent this, mutual understanding and cooperation is needed by both parties.

"In this respect Zionism has the task of Zionizing both the Diaspora and Israel, especially the Israel of the mass emigration of today," he said.

### Cooperation Essential

The full cooperation of the Jewish people, he said, is absolutely essential to accomplish these four aims.

"Nothing is more wrong and dangerous for the Zionist Movement than to regard such partnership and cooperation as charity or [illegible] he said.

In discussing methods of organizing this cooperation, Dr. Goldmann declared that the Zionist Movement was the best-equipped to do this "even if one is not sure that the Zionist Organization can deliver the goods."

The Movement must be "given the authority by the State of Israel" and "recognised by the State as the agency which channellizes and coordinates all organized Jewish efforts to help build Israel," he said. And he added that the State should "welcome an arrangement whereby it deals with one body representing the Jewish people and does not have to make arrangements with multiple groups."

### Unconditional Help

At the same time, he said, a Zionist Movement "is unthinkable if it is not build on the principle of unconditional help to Israel." The Movement cannot be in conflict with the State, he noted, and a "state is represented by its government so long as it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the people."

This does not preclude the right of Zionists abroad to express opinions or criticisms against Israel. "From this viewpoint," he said, "the existence of Zionist parties is justified, even in the Diaspora."

But he urged that the Diaspora parties "be pushed into the background, and a new organizational structure forged, uniting all Zionists in every country for the common task of leading the Jewish people and to mobilize it for Israel." Dr. Goldmann maintained that the parties had "transplanted the internal problems of Israel to the Diaspora" where Zionists have "become divided on issues that have little if any relation to their local or territorial problems."

He declared that there were Jews "genuinely interested in Israel and desiring to cooperate in much larger numbers than organized Zionists." It is vital for the Movement to "find the way to mobilize them all and give them an opportunity to participate either by bringing them directly into the Movement or by working out some forms of cooperation with them."

Touching upon the forthcoming Congress discussion of the Movement's status and its relations with the Government, Dr. Goldmann said:

"We will request recognition and, I hope, we will get it. But it would be tragic if the Movement were to concentrate exclusively or primarily on this aim. We alone can determine the destiny of the Movement.

**"I hope that my fellow-delegates realise that for the first time, perhaps, since the first Congress in Basle, have Congress representatives had such heavy responsibilities as those cast upon our shoulders tonight. Should the Congress concentrate on petty quarrels party rivalries, personal conflicts, on the defence of the sacred status quo, and indulge in blaming our weaknesses on others, this will be the last Congress.**

"I hope and am convinced that this Congress, the first in Jerusalem, the first in the sovereign State of Israel, will truly be a real first Congress, launching the second era in the history of Zionism, the era that will lead us after years of effort and devotion to even greater accomplishments than the first era and to the full realization of the Zionist vision," Dr. Goldmann concluded.

# Ben Gurion's Historical Review

(Continued from Page One)

cultivation of large stretches of barren lands which had been acquired with the creation of the State.

"These tasks," Mr. Ben Gurion declared, cannot be carried out without a loyal partnership between the State of Israel and the Jewish people... Neither of these can carry out this mission with its own resources, and both of them will succeed together only if they exert supreme, constant and loyal effort."

The partnership between the two, however, would have to be based on recognition of the nature of both partners: The State of Israel, on the one hand, a free and sovereign entity exercising absolute, democratic authority over its citizens but none over those outside its borders on the one hand, and the masses of non-Israel Jewry on the other.

These latter are bound to the State only by bonds of will, will created by the bond of common national fate, but certainly not by coercive law.

Every Jew in the Diaspora has the right, awarded by the Law of the Return, to emigrate to Israel, and to assume the rights and responsibilities of citizenship here.

"There can be no rights without duties, nor responsibility without rights, but the State has been relieved by the Law of the Return of the obligation to impose rights and duties upon Jews outside its borders.

"The State of Israel cannot do the work of the Zionist Organization, nor can the Zionist Organization do the work of the State of Israel. Despite this difference, however, there is a historical partnership between the two, since there exists a partnership of vision and purpose... It falls to this Congress, which meets for the first time since the establishment of the State, and to the new Government of Israel, to lay down the path leading towards this goal...

"The values of Jewish redemption have already been woven in the web of spiritual enterprise in this country. It remains for the State of Israel and for the Jewish People to nurture such values in order that we may become a light to the nation and a salvation to our people.

"We have never scorned small things. Let us not falter at great things."

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# Delegates to the 23rd Zionist Congress from Abroad

(Temporary List)

**UNITED STATES**

**Zionist Organization of America**
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Benjamin G. Browdy, Dr. Emmanuel Neumann, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Dr. Harris Levine, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, David Moskowitz, Louis A. Falk, Ezra Shapiro, Dr. Marcus Levinson, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Dr. Morton J. Robins, Max Bressler, Fred Monosson, Jacques Torczyner, Abraham Goodman, Albert Schiff, Rabbi J. Usher Kirshblum, J.S. Turover, Morris Jacobs, Mendel N. Fisher, Dr. Jacob Steinberg, Murray Lasebaum, Charles Wolf, Sol Benamy, Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum, Jack Verd, Benjamin Habatsky, Benjamin Winick, Yoseph Goldberg, Morris Margulies, Hermann Quittner, B.S. Rudolph, Samuel Greenblatt, S. Karmenougal.

**Hadassah**
Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Miss Gloria Rubin, Mrs. Siegfried Kramarsky, Mrs. Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A.P. Schoolmann, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. Benjamin Meiselman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. Josef Feinsilver, Mrs. Max Frank, Mrs. S. Tuselbuch, Miss Hanna Goldberg, Mrs. Chief Levin, Mrs. Irving Mack, Mrs. E.M. Jobin, Mrs. Bernard Rosenbaum, Miss Pearl Franklin, Mrs. Josef Hamerman, Mrs. Max Matzkin, Mrs. Anna Prinzmatal, Mrs. Lester Berlove, Mrs. Murry Grossman, Mrs. Elliot F. Glassberg, Mrs. Morimer Jacobson, Mrs. Inselbuch, Mrs. L. Saltzer, Miss Juliet Benjamin, Mrs. E. Schapiro, Mrs. Paul Gutman, Mrs. Sam Solomon, Mrs. Jack Goodman.

**Hapoel Hamizrahi**
Chaim Chasowitz, Max Harler, Eli Klein, Samson Krupnick, Rabbi Issacker Levin, Rabbi Zev Segal, Nathaniel Zelikov.

**Labour Zionist Bloc**
Z. Baumgold, Eva Berg, Sam Berke, Faigle Berkenblit, Bessye K. Blaufarb, Sylvia Bloom, Samuel Bonchek, Irving Baxenbaum, Joseph Breslau, Meyer L. Brown, Rivka Bugatch, Benjamin Bursztyn, Eve Checkway, Saul Cohen, Joseph Cooper, Pinchas Cruso, Abraham Dickenstein, Josef Horfman, H. Ehrenreich, Ida Ehrenreich, I. Faigenbaum, Dr. Sara Feder, Blanch Mogil-Fine, Dr. Daniel Fineman, Dr. Hayim Fineman.

**Mizrahi**
Dr. Pinchas Churgin, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Rabbi Dr. A. Predmesky, Abraham Cohen, Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt, Rabbi Isaak Stolman, Bessie Gotsfeld, Dvora Rabinowitz.

**Zionists Revisionists of America**
Leo Wolfson, Beinesh Epstein, Dr. Harry Levy, Yitzhak Friedman (Elitzur), Alexander Gurowitch, Dr. David S. Shecket, David S. Epstein.

**Progressive Zionist League Hashomer Hatzair**
Evi Larie, Abraham Schenker, Irma L. Lindheim.

**United Labour Zionist Party**
Paul L. Goldman, Jehuda Tyberk.

**AUSTRALIA**

**United Zionist Congress List**
S. Wynn, J. Ginsburg, M. Faiglin.

**Independent Zionist List**
M. Freilich.

**URUGUAY**

**Sionismo General (Allgemeine)**
Jacobo Lessen.

**Partido Unido Poalei Zion-Haitajdut**
Itsjac Bushtein.

**Hitajdut Hapoel Hamizraji**
Rabino Gustavo Rosemann.

**Sionistas Revisionistas**
Isaac Erdman.

**ITALY**

**United List**
Avo Carlo Alberto Viterbo, Rag Rafaele Cantoni, Avo Leone Carpi, Rab. David Schaumann.

**IRAN**

**United List**
Moussa Toub, N. Raanan, Abraham Mere, B. Douvdvani.

**ENGLAND**

**General Zionists**
Norman M. Jacobs, Edward Woolfson, Barnett Janner, Mrs. Rebecca Sieff.

**Mizrahi Hapoel Hamizrahi**
Alexander Muszulias, Harry Landy, Walter Hirschberg.

**Poalei Zion-Mapai**
Dr. Levenberg, J.L. Jaletzky B.Sc. K.C. Cohen.

**AFGHANISTAN**

**United List**
H. Cynowicz.

**SOUTH AFRICA**

**United Zionist Revisionist Party of South Africa**
J. Dalesky, H. Hurwitz, A. Golembo.

**United Zionist Party**
Chief Rabbi I. Abrahams, Israel Dunsky, Jacob Gitlin, Simon Meyer Kuper.

**Zionist Socialist Party**
L. Tager, A. Levin, E. Kiel.

**Mizrahi**
Rabbi Dr. M. Kossowsky.

**ECUADOR**

**United List**
Benno Weiser.

**BELGIUM**

**Organisation Sioniste Generale**
Jos Horowitz.

**Partie Unifiée-Mapam**
Abush Verber.

**Parti Poale Zion-Zeire Zion**
Golda Myerson.

**Mizrahi et Hapoel Hamizrahi**
Moshe Chaim Mohar.

**BOLIVIA**

**General Zionists**
Alejandro Gutentag.

**BRAZIL**

**Poale Zion Hitachdut-Mapai**
Israel Diner, Dr. Schmuel Maimud.

**Hitachdut Harionim Hakisilim**
Jacob Schneider.

**Brith Haizionim Harevizionistim-Brith Hatzoar Grossman**
Meir Grossmann.

**Mapam**
Eliezer Karalinsky.

**DENMARK**

Benjamin Slor.

**INDIA**

**United List**
P.S. Gourgey.

**HOLLAND**

**Arbeidende Israel Ichud-Mapai**
Dr. S. Kleerkoper.

**Mizrahi**
Aron Schuster.

**NEW ZEALAND**

**United List**
John Nathan.

**TANGIERS**

**United List**
Dr. Samuel Marquez.

**GREECE**

**United List**
Robert Raphael, Solomon Bitty.

**TRIPOLI**

**United List**
Isaaco Bohobos, Joseph Mimun.

**MEXICO**

**Poale Zion Zeiri Zion**
Ing. C. Landau.

**Organizacion Sionista de Alepo**
Raymundo Husny.

**Igud Olami Brit Hatzoar Herut**
L. Rabani.

**Organizacion Sionista de Mexico (General Zionists)**
Leib Duitain.

**FINLAND**

**United List**
Zvi Hazan.

**PERU**

**General Zionists**
Luis Schydlowsky.

**CHILE**

**Partido de Sionistas Generales y Hanoar Hatzioni**
Isaac Drapkin.

**Partido Poale Sion Hitajdut**
Amelia Kiblisky de Fliman.

**Hashomer Hatzair Dror-Hejalutz Hatzair Mapam**
Marcos Kafman.

**FRANCE**

**Poale Sion Hitachdut Sepharadim et Apparentes**
Moshe Sharet, Berl Locker, Marc Jarblum, Oly Levin.

**Organisation Sioniste de France (Sionistes Généraux)**
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Maître Marcel Barnfeld.

**Parti Sioniste Général Progressiste**
M. Topiol.

**Mapam**
Hersch Kohn.

**Mizrahi Hapoel Hamizrahi**
Nehemie Rotemberg.

**EASTERN FRANCE**

**United List**
Robert Fischer, Grand Rabbin Fuchs, J. Dranger.

**CUBA**

**United List**
Sender M. Kaplan.

**COLOMBIA**

**United List**
Salvador Rosental.

**CANADA**

**United Labour Zionist Party of Canada**
H. Green.

**Mizrahi Organisation of Canada**
Rabbi S.M. Zambrowsky, B. Tannenbaum, Mrs. Miriam Bossin.

**Labour Zionist Movement of Canada**
L. Chaifetz, Mrs. Chaya Surcin, Dr. S.B. Hurwich, S. Greene.

**Zionist Hadassah Organization of Canada**
E.E. Gelber, S.E. Schwisberg, Mrs. H. Singer, Judge H. Batshaw, Mrs. D.P. Gotlieb.

**SWEDEN**

**United List**
Dir. Karl Berman, Dir. Adolf Hirschfeldt, Rabbin A.I. Jacobson, Dir. Norbert Masur.

**SWITZERLAND**

**Allgemeine Zionisten**
Dr. Hans Klee.

**Poale Zion Hitachdut**
Dr. Jacob Zuckler.

**Mizrachi Hapoel Hamizrachi**
Pinchas Rosenbaum.

**ELECTORAL UNIT (GUATEMALA SURINAM PANAMA)**

**United List**
Theodore Reznikoff.

**ELECTORAL UNIT (VENEZUELA NICARAGUA PARAGUAY SALVADOR)**

**United List**
Dr. Maurice Bookstein.

**ALGIERS**

**United List**
Prof. Henri Aboulker, Dr. Edouard Ghanassie, Rahmim Naouri, Roger Benhurion, Mme. René Roubache.

**TUNISIA**

**United List**
Mme. Elie Eugène Guetta, Mme. Sauveur Baranes, Isaaya Allauche, Rabbi Ouaïfa Cohen, Dr. Lumbroso.

**ARGENTINA**

**Poale Zion Hitachdut**
A.L. Schussheim, Jizcak Harkabi, Nachman Tamir.

**Federacion Sionista Argentina**
Dr. Mateo Goldstein, Dr. Israel Jagupsky.

**De Las Agrupaciones del Mapam en la Argentina Poale Zion-Hashomer Hatzair**
Nissim Elnecave, Jonas Kovensky, Aaron Pludik.

**Sionistas Revisionistas Unidos en la Argentina**
Isaak Bosber.

**Mizrahi Hapoel Hamizrachi**
Eliahu Weinrach.

## Jerusalem Cinemas

At 3.30, 7 & 9 p.m.

ARNON: The Good Earth.
EDEN: Nancy Goes to Rio.
EDISON: Buccaneer's Girl.
ORION: First Comes Courage.
STUDIO: Nicholas Nickleby.
ZION: To The End of The Earth.

## Haifa Cinemas

CARMEL: Aloma (7.15 & 9.30 p.m.).
GAN TAM: Calcutta (8.30 p.m.).

**EMERGENCY PHARMACIES:**

JERUSALEM: Givant, Rehov K.K.L., Rehavia, 2993; Amudim, Jaffa Road, 2381.

TEL AVIV: Abramski, 42 Allenby, 3526; Yehuda Halevi, 91 Yehuda Halevi, 5159; Sneh, 33 Ha'aliya, 4993; Mercaz Hatzafon, 200 Ben Yehuda, 2933.

JAFFA: Rubowitz, 33 Jerusalem, 80659.

HAIFA: International, 59 Kingsway; Armon, 6 Prophets, 4176.

## ON THE AIR

JERUSALEM: 407 M.; HAIFA: 349 M.; TEL AVIV: 41.2, 33.3 & 322 M.

NEWS: Hebrew: 7 a.m., 1.30 p.m.; 6, 8.30 and 10.25 p.m.; English: 2 and 10.15 p.m.; Arabic Programme (including News): 6 a.m., 2.15 and 7.15 p.m.; French: 3 p.m.

6.30 a.m. Service, 6.35 Exercises, 6.45 Musical Clock (R), 7.15 Melodies, 7.45 Oriental Music; E. Abarem, 8.30 Close Down.

10.00 a.m. Morning Concert (R), 10.30 Piano Duets (R), 10.45 Southern Rhythm (R), 11.00 Concert Hall: "Mozartiana" (Tchaikowsky); Symphony No. 5 (Prokofieff), 12.00 N. "Vacation & Recreation" Programme for Holiday Camp Children, 12.30 Programme for Working Women, 12.30 Programme for Hospitals, 1.00 Soldiers' Programme (R), 1.45 Housewives' Corner, 3.15 Close Down.

4.00 p.m. Programme for Yemenites, 4.20 Dance Music (R), 5.00 Recital: Rina Kuhn & Eliahu Rudiakoff; Suite No. 1 (Mendelssohn), 5.30 Chess Corner, 5.45 Vocal Recital: Esther Tugendhaft, 6.15 Sports, 6.30 Children's Hour, 7.00 Popular Education, 7.45 Bible Reading, 8.00 Soldiers' Programme, 8.45 "In the Mirror of Realisation": Talk by I. Ziv-Av, 9.00 Vocal Recital: Ruth Miller, 9.30 Kol Yisrael Wind Ensemble: Pre-Classical Suite (Lustig); "Jeux d'Enfants" (Bizet - Schlesinger).

10.30 Cantoral Request Programme (R), 11.15 Close Down.

Immigrants' Hour (33.3 M.): 6.30 p.m. French; 7.00 p.m. Ladino; 7.30 p.m. Yiddish; 8.00 p.m. Turkish; 8.15 p.m. Persian.

Kol Zion Lagola (33.3 M.): 12.15 a.m. Newsreel and Congress Report.

B.B.C. HEBREW BROADCASTS (19.91 and 24.92 M.): 7.30 News, 7.40 News Talk, 7.45 Radio Newsreel.

ARMY PROGRAMMES (230, 285 & 44.6 M.): 6.30 p.m. Programme Announcements, 6.35 Marches, 6.55 Tomorrow's "Bamahaneh," 7.00 Recital, 7.30 Today's Events, 7.35 "The Soldier as a Civilian," 8.00 Soldiers' Programme, 8.30 News, 8.45 Concert, 10.00 Close Down.

VOICE OF AMERICA: Hebrew Programme: 9—9.30 p.m. (13.85, 16.85, 17.01 & 19.07 from U.S.A.; 19.83 & 25.36 from Tangiers).

STATE OF ISRAEL
NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
ARNONA
In persuance of para 14 (A) (1) of the Arnona War Damage Compensation Ordinance 1951, and in view of the authority vested in the Department for Property Tax regarding the permission to utilise any powers published in the "Yalkut Hapirsumim" No. 176 of July 19, 1951, all those liable to pay Arnona Tax for municipal, industrial and agricultural buildings and plants should make advance payments in accordance with the ordinance, whether demanded by the department or not to the Municipal Property Tax Department in their area.
July 1, 1951, was the final date on which the advance payment had to be paid. In accordance with para 26 of above mentioned ordinance an additional 20 per cent will be added to any sum not paid on the due date.
Dr. M. LANDAU
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No.4172, in Tel Aviv.
Return to ROSE KELLER, Maon Yeladim, Safad Road, Tiberias.

Mr. Arne O. Pertolla
who has just arrived in Israel, will deliver a lecture on:
"FIELD SERVICING OF HERMETIC UNITS."
at the Kestenbaum Plants, Haifa Bay,
on Monday, August 20, at 4 p.m.
All refrigeration servicemen and engineers are cordially invited.

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The Levant Bonded Warehouses Co. Ltd.
Notice of Meeting
NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN THAT THE TWENTY-SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE COMPANY will be held at the Offices of the Levant Bonded Warehouses Co. Ltd., 1 Palmer's Gate, Haifa, on Thursday, August 23, 1951, 11 a.m.
*AGENDA:*
1. To receive and approve the Directors' Report and Audited Accounts for the period to December 31, 1950.
2. To consider proposals concerning Directors' Fees.
3. To re-elect retiring Directors.
4. To appoint Auditors.
5. To transact other general business of the Company (if any).
*Admission to the meeting and the right to vote therein will be allowed against Certificates of Deposit of Share Warrants to Bearer, which may be deposited with any Bank in Israel, or at the Registered Offices of the Company, not later than three days before the meeting.*
By Order of the Board,
S. LAKSHIN,
*General Manager and Secretary.*

דגון בתי ממגורות לישראל בע״מ
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NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS
Issue of final Share Certificates
31 Derech Ha'atzmaut, P.O.B. 407, Haifa.
Shareholders are requested to forward to the Secretary of the Company Provisional Share Certificates which will be exchanged against final Share Certificates.

Classified
Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays
RATES (in Prutah): One time / Three times / Six times
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Double Rates for Business Firms

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SMALL family requires furnished room in Tel Aviv, with kitchen or board, for one month. No. 16096, P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.
EX-SERVICEMAN wants to exchange 2-roomed flat, Shikun Bat Galim, for similar one in Jerusalem. Write: No. 3441, Advertising Centre, 40 Rehov Herzl, Haifa.
TO LET: elegantly furnished room for tourists. Goldberg, 40 Wedgewood Ave., Mt. Carmel, Haifa (bus 20).
WORKING lady requires furnished room, prepared pay moderately high rental, or share room, in Haifa or suburbs. Reply: CL/17230, P.O.B. 66, Haifa.

LESSONS
WANTED English conversation in exchange for French. Write: CL/17236, P.O.B. 66, Haifa.

LOST — FOUND
REWARD IL.25 for returning my American passport and wallet (contents empty), Lost on the train from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Meir Steinharter, 29 Gaza Rd., Jerusalem.
LOST Identity Card [illegible] in name of J. Shapira. Return: The Jerusalem Post, Tel Aviv.
LOST Iraqi Passport No. [illegible] of David [illegible]. Finder please contact Dr. Fouad Nassim, 11 Rehov Moshe Ben Ezra, Tel Aviv.
LOST Identity Card of Jennie Nathan. Please return to: Carmelia Court, Haifa.

OPTICS — PHOTO
FOR CAMERAS and accessories highest prices paid. Photo Brenner, 21 Rehov Rehalutz, Haifa.

PURCHASE — SALE
FOR SALE 20-roomed hotel in Blackpool, England. No. [illegible] P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.

SITUATIONS WANTED
OWN typewriter, any typing work in English and French accepted. Call 3437, Jerusalem.
EXPERIENCED Hebrew, English, German, French correspondent seeks part-time work, afternoons. No. 16097, P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.
YOUNG lady seeks position forenoons. Knowledge of German, working Hebrew and English. Library preferred. Best references. Write: CL/16901, P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.
LADY from England, long experience, seeks position of [illegible]ship. Write: No. 16094, P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.
CHIEF CLERK in Government administration wishes to change position in Tel Aviv or Rehovot. Secretary, Hebrew, English and Arabic, typing in all these languages. 18 years clerical and secretarial experience in and outside Israel. Best references. Write No. 16097, P.O.B. 1125, Tel Aviv.
INDEPENDENT, experienced clerk, 27 years, exempt from Military Service, English, Hebrew, French, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, wants to work from 4 to 8 p.m. Please reply to CL/17219, P.O.B. 66, Haifa.
EXPERIENCED English clerk, shorthand-typist, knowing German and French, wants job in Haifa. Please phone 5282, Haifa.
EXCELLENT English, French, German, shorthand-typist, accepts homework, or dictations at employer's convenience. Telephone: Lerner, German Hospital, 5776, or write: P.O.B. 3000, Mt. Carmel, Haifa.
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TEL AVIV, Tel. [illegible]
JERUSALEM, Tel. [illegible]
HAIFA, Tel. [illegible]
NAZARETH, [illegible]

# Today's POST BAG

### THE WEATHER

| | *A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mt. Canaan | 21 | 22 | 33 | 31 |
| Nathanya | 72 | 22 | 31 | 30 |
| Tel Aviv Port | 66 | 22 | 29 | 29 |
| Lydda | 56 | 19 | 35 | 32 |
| Jerusalem | 25 | 24 | 31 | 29 |
| Beersheba | 31 | 17 | 36 | 33 |

*A) Humidity at 2 p.m. B) Minimum temp. C) Maxim. yesterday. D) Maxim. temp. expected today.

Ice was difficult to obtain in Tel Aviv yesterday following a brief breakdown on Sunday night in one of the ice factories. Most consumers got their ration, though late.

[illegible], a nine-year-old boy, was severely injured yesterday when he fell off the roof of his Ramle home. He was taken to Assaf Harofe Hospital.

For picking pockets while travelling in a Jaffa bus, Haim Kuzi, 29, of Tel Aviv, was yesterday sentenced to one year's imprisonment by Magistrate I. Avniel. Kuzi had been caught red-handed.

A fifth man suspected of taking part in the robbery of the Bank Hapoalim branch at Migdal Ascalon early this month, Joan M. Pacha, 20, was yesterday remanded by Magistrate A. Manni in Ramle.

Y. Dagan, charged with unintentionally causing the death of I. Cohen, a guard of Moshav Gilat, on the night of August 11, was yesterday remanded in custody for two weeks by Magistrate A. Manni.

Ramle economic police yesterday confiscated 22 ice boxes allegedly destined for the black market during a search of the local ice box factory. They also confiscated goods worth IL.5,000, including beech-wood, galvanized iron sheets and foodstuffs. The owner of the factory was arrested.

The "Hatenuah" cooperative's quarry will resume operations in the Jordan Hills within a fortnight, after having been idle for six months. New machinery has been installed and 25 workers will be employed.

## San Martin Forest Planted at Eshtaol

The first saplings of the General San Martin Forest, to be planted by the Jewish National Fund with contributions by Argentine Jewry were set in near Eshtaol in the Jerusalem Corridor yesterday morning.

The forest, which will contain at least 50,000 trees, is named after General Jose San Martin, who liberated Argentina, Chile and Peru from Spanish rule at the time of Napoleon.

Mr. Yaakov Tzur, Israel Minister to Argentina, thought it symbolic that the descendants of those Jews who had settled in Argentina 60 years ago, and of those who had settled in Israel at the same time, were now meeting in the Judean Hills for a common purpose.

The Argentine Minister to Israel, Dr. Manguel, who had returned to this country the previous day, read a message from President Peron — in Spanish and in Hebrew — stressing the close links between Argentina and Israel. Dr. A. Granott, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the J.N.F., replied.

## Ration News

TEL AVIV — Meat: 125 grams, Gimel 18, temporary 11. 200 grams additional to expectant mothers, 1, 200 grams additional to physical labourers, who must collect same by Friday, 25. Yellow Cheese: 200 grams to expectant mothers, Vav 2 on Food Supplement Card, marked "eggs and butter." Chocolate for Diabetics: One bar at all "Elite" branches, Gimel from Tel Aviv Municipality Cards or Het-Bet 1, Het-Gimel 1 from old books.

Consumers who receive their rations from Aryeh Harironi will temporarily receive them at the shop of Moshe Kleiner, 231 Rehov Dizengoff, Tel Aviv. On Sunday, August 19, a clerk of the Food Section of the Agriculture Ministry will be at Kleiner's shop from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. to arrange transfer of consumers to shops of their choice.

TEL AVIV DISTRICT — Apples: 250 grams, zones 1, 2, 3, Aleph, Bet, Gimel cards, Kuf 1, Sadi 1, Peh 1, deadline next Wednesday. Tomatoes: 300 grams, zones 1, 2, 3, 4, Yud 11, temporary 26. Onions: 300 grams, zones 5, 6, 7, Shin 25 old cards, temporary 26. Bananas: 500 grams, zones 1, 2, 3, Aleph, Bet, Gimel cards, Kuf 11, Sadi 11, Peh 11, temporary 28; deadline Friday. Carp: 300 grams, zones 1, 2, Givatayim, Shin-Aleph 6, temporary 22. Chickens: Distribution continues in zones 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Vav 1, temporary 40; deadline zones 4, 5, 6, tomorrow, deadline zones 7, 8, next Wednesday; sick persons in Tel Aviv and neighbouring communities, rations coupons Het Aleph 6, Het Bet 6, Het Gimel 6.

# Mixed Milk to Make Up For Shortage in Urban Areas

HAIFA, Tuesday.—Only mixed milk consisting of 75 per cent fresh and 25 per cent reconstituted powder milk, will be distributed by vendors in three city areas beginning on September 1, Mr. N. Verlinsky, General Manager of Tnuva, told the press here today. This will make up for the present shortage.

Sale of the mixed product, which will contain 2½ per cent butter fat as against three per cent of fresh milk, was decided upon by the Ministry of Agriculture as the only means of avoiding reductions in the milk ration.

The areas in which sale of fresh milk will be forbidden are: Tel Aviv-Jaffa (including Holon, Nahlat Yitzhak, Ramatayim, Bnei Brak and Ramat Gan); Haifa (from Tirat Hacarmel in the South to Acre and Nahariya in the North); and in Jerusalem.

These areas, it was stated, consume 75 per cent of the milk output. Other areas are not affected, because they as yet had no facilities for mixing milk.

### Production Up

Mr. Verlinsky said that overall production in 1950-51 had been 49m. litres as compared with 41m. litres the previous year, but that output had dropped 25 per cent since April. The lag, he said, was only partly seasonal, as the fodder shortage caused by last winter's drought contributed to it.

Referring to reports on the distribution of unhygienic milk, Mr. Verlinsky said that a tuberculosis incidence of 10 to 12 per cent had been discovered among cattle in settlements where tests had been made. Until the Ministry of Agriculture undertook examination of all the livestock in the country, however, no general picture could be drawn of the health of Israel's cows, he said.

Tnuva, as the largest supplier of milk and milk products in the country, he continued, was fully aware of its responsibilities to the public. All fresh milk supplied to the public for drinking purposes was pasteurized and contained no pathogenic bacteria, he said. Nevertheless, since the milk could be infected on the way from the dairy to the consumer, it was imperative to boil the milk before drinking.

Likewise, all cream was pasteurized before churning, making packed Tnuva butter safe for consumption. Milk powder was also pasteurized after reconstitution, as were the small quantities of milk which had soured and was being utilized in producing soft, fat and lean cheeses. As lebenia and leben were made of such milk powder and imported butter they too were safe, he said. All nine Tnuva dairies had strict instructions to return milk too sour for pasteurization, Mr. Verlinsky said.

As for pasteurization facilities, Mr. Verlinsky said the Haifa plant was the largest and best-equipped in the Middle East, and that the cleaning and bottle-filling processes there were the last word in hygiene and modernity. The Haifa plant would be surpassed, however, by a Tel Aviv dairy two to three times its size.

The plant, he said, was already in construction, and was expected to go into operation next July. Ninety per cent of the equipment had already arrived, and included 16 tons of water and steam piping. The Jerusalem dairy, he said, doubled its capacity 18 months ago.

Both Tnuva and the Ministry of Agriculture, he said, were aware of sixth serious faults in distribution as sale of milk in the street instead delivery to the doorstep in some areas.

## Air Force Graduates

AIR FORCE BASE SOMEWHERE IN ISRAEL, Tuesday.—The new Commander of the Air Force, Aloof Haim Laskov, took the salute of the latest group of air cadets to receive their wings here today. Rav-Aloof Yigael Yadin, Chief of Staff, addressed the cadets and assembled guests, who included the British and American Air Attaches and the Deputy Chief of Staff, Aloof Mordecai Makleff, and Aloof S. Maze, the Adjutant-General.

Three types of training aircraft flew in formation over the parade grounds after the last cadet received his wings from the Chief of Staff. The graduating class consisted of pilots, radio operators, navigators and gunners.

# Jerusalem A Congress City

POST Reporter

Jerusalem was very much a Congress city yesterday.

The Jewish Agency offices were the buzzing nerve-centre of events, as many hundred delegates and guests thronged the courtyard, the entrance hall and the corridors to receive their opening session tickets. By mid-morning it was announced that no more places were available for the opening session.

At 2.30, part of the Jewish Agency staff went home, as usual, but others, whose work is connected with Congress, remained at their posts, and visitors continued to stream in.

Meanwhile, the Organization Department had transferred its Congress Headquarters to the Rehavia Gymnasium where, in mid-afternoon, hundreds of delegates—particularly those from Israel who had arrived in Jerusalem only that day—queued up at the Credentials Office.

By 3:30, two rows of limousines filled the entire courtyard of the Jewish Agency Buildings, waiting to take the V.I.P. guests to Mount Herzl for the 5 p.m. ceremony. The guests themselves assembled well before the appointed hour. The motor caravan left at 4:30. The first three cars bearing the Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Jewish Agency and Mrs. Locker, and the Chairman of the American Section of the Agency and Mrs. Goldmann.

Though the visitors were conspicuous in the town, the residents themselves seemed almost unaffected. Few Jerusalem residents were able to attend the opening session; even most of the Jewish Agency staff could not obtain tickets. Most of the 1,300 seats have been assigned to visitors from abroad.

The Congress Accommodation Department, which has been set up by the Agency at 5 Rehov Ben Yehuda, reported late in the afternoon that all delegates and visitors who had applied — more than 1,600 — had found accommodation, and that places were even still available.

### Anti-Zionist Leaflets

Following a report in the German-language daily "Yedioth Hadashot" yesterday morning of an alleged attempt on part of the "Canaanite Association" to disturb the Zionist Congress, high police officials conferred in Jerusalem yesterday and started investigations. One suspect, Moshe Berkowitz, was arrested in Haifa. The "Canaanites" are a group of Palestinian-born who preach a Semitic-Asiatic orientation for the Jews.

Two were twice last night prevented by Jerusalem police from distributing anti-Zionist circulars at the Convention Centre.

They were identified as Uri Maimon and Daniel Shat, both of Haifa. They attempted to distribute leaflets reading: "Zionism, out of Israel!" The first attempt came at about 7 p.m. but was immediately frustrated by police who confiscated some 400 circulars.

At 9.15 the second attempt by the same youths took place, at which time the police are reported to have confiscated 200 circulars and again released the youths.

RETALIATION. — The U.S. House of Representatives yesterday unanimously advocated immediate severance of commercial relations with Czechoslovakia until A.P. correspondent William N. Oatis is freed from a Prague jail. Mr. Oatis was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment recently on an espionage charge.

# 'Maintain the Bridge'—Locker

(Continued from Page One)

as though he were a citizen of Israel.

"Only thus will the people be able to muster strength to mobilize the capital of the nation on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the task imposed upon our generation," Mr. Locker declared.

### Pioneer Approach to Capital

A "new approach to the question of national capital" must be formed, Mr. Locker asserted. "Obviously, suitable conditions must be created in the State and the investment of private capital must be encouraged as far as possible in the various branches of agriculture, industry and commerce," he said.

"But one must demand from Jewish and Zionist capitalists a more daring, pioneering approach to their participation in the upbuilding and development of the State.

"To consolidate this spiritual approach it is vital to maintain a living bridge between the Yishuv in Israel and between all parts of the Diaspora, a bridge of constant and increasing immigration including those countries where there is at present no need for rescue from persecution and discrimination," Mr. Locker said.

"We must try to bring about a revolutionary change of values in the education of the people and of the young generation, both here and in the Diaspora, in the spirit of One People, in the spirit of the unity of our people in all generations in all parts of the world," he said.

Discussing the tasks of the Zionist Movement, Mr. Locker noted that various formulas have been proposed and will be examined at the Congress.

### Ingathering Urgent

"It is clear, however, that the most important matter at the moment, both in the State and the Movement, is the Ingathering of the Exiles, and their absorption and integration in the land," he declared.

"It is also clear that a task of such dimensions cannot be fulfilled by the State alone. And just as the State was founded not only for the Yishuv that was here on that particular day, but for the Jewish people as a whole, so the responsibility for the full and speedy exploitation of this historical opportunity of rescue and redemption cannot rest on the shoulders of the State alone."

On granting the Zionist Organization special status Mr. Locker observed: "It is clear that while fully recognizing the unlimited sovereignty of the State and ready to cooperate with the State of Israel unconditionally and without any limitations, the Zionist Movement is entitled to demand legal recognition of the State of Israel for its special functions in the spheres of immigration, Youth Aliya, absorption and settlement. Most of the parties in the Movement and in the State have advocated this demand in their policy for the Congress and the Second Knesset.

### A Means, Not an Aim

"I should like to stress that this special status is not an aim in itself, but only a means of alleviating for the Zionist Organization the task of mobilizing the people, and it will regulate the relations with the State and Government and ensure the maximum efficiency. The first steps for the granting of such status were taken in May, 1950, by the founding of the Coordinating Committee between the Government and the Jewish Agency Executive, and I may say that even in its incomplete form this step has been a great advantage to our joint work."

# Court Denies Seats To G.Z., Mizrahi

The General Zionist and Mizrahi parties of Israel, who boycotted the Congress elections, will not receive any seats at the Zionist Congress, the Court of Honour ruled in Jerusalem yesterday. The two parties appealed to the Court contesting the validity of the elections.

The Court, however, did not approve the election results and cut the number of Israel delegates from 210 to 185, redistributing the seats among the parties.

The Revisionists, who did not have any seats but had the largest surplus votes, received one mandate.

Mapai received 93, instead of 104; Poale Hamizrahi 23 not 26; Herut 17 not 22; Mapam 41 not 46 and Progressives 10 not 12.

The text of the verdict did not include the judgment, but it was believed that the reasons for the cutting of the number of seats were because of the irregularities in about 29,000 shekalim out of the 140,000 which were checked, and because the General Zionist and Mizrahi delegates were not seated.

## Bandits Intercepted

Nine infiltrators from the Arab "Triangle" and Lebanon were captured between Saturday and Monday, an Army spokesman announced yesterday. Six of the infiltrators had smuggled goods in their possession when they were apprehended.

Two infiltrators were intercepted east of Lydda. One was killed, the other captured.

## No More Lenin Day

By a Special Correspondent

The Soviet Government has decided to abolish the anniversary of Lenin's death as a national holiday, "following the request of many public bodies and organizations, because it has become unsuitable for Soviet society," according to an announcement in yesterday's "Pavda."

January 22, one of the seven official Soviet holidays, has been observed hitherto as the anniversary of Lenin's death in 1924 and of the Revolution of 1905. With the Soviet Union's growing estrangement from the Marxist-Leninist tradition, such a development has for some time been considered likely. May Day is as yet unaffected by the new decree.

# Russian Presence at Parley Will Upset Plans and Schedule

WASHINGTON, Tuesday (Reuter).—Drastic re-organization of America's plans for the Japanese Peace Treaty conference in San Francisco on September 4 was forecast today as a result of Russia's surprise decision to attend. What Russia plans to do at the conference was the subject of intense speculation all over the world. Some quarters thought Russia might press for the right of veto over the treaty. Others thought her presence might ease the international situation.

The Soviet decision took American leaders by surprise and temporarily they are without a policy to deal with the changed situation.

Officials envisaged that Russia might:

Propose certain amendments acceptable to the supporters of the present draft treaty and then sign it; or use the conference to let loose another anti-American propaganda barrage; or declare the conference illegal and demand preliminary meetings of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, in accordance with their interpretation of the Potsdam Agreement.

In London, diplomatic quarters considered that Russia's acceptance will convert a formal gathering into a vitally important East-West encounter.

The presence of a Soviet delegation removes any possibility that the conference can be a meeting of substantially like-minded delegations. Russia has repeatedly made it clear that she will not sign any treaty to which the Chinese People's Government is not a party.

There is every prospect that the time table will be upset. With only four days from September 4 to 8 for all signatory powers to make statements on the treaty, a debate on fundamentals can hardly be arranged within the existing time.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday (AP). — The proposed Japanese Peace Treaty will be published in London and Washington tomorrow, the State Department announced today.

Copies will be given to about 50 interested governments and texts have been cabled to American diplomatic missions abroad.

MEDIATION. — Ecuador has requested Brazil to mediate in the situation created by attacks which Peruvian troops are alleged to have made against the Ecuador frontier.

## Refugee Camp in Iran To Close Soon

TEHERAN, Tuesday (AP).—The camp for refugee Iraqi and Kurdish Jews here is expected to be closed this month because of the steady emigration to Israel, a Jewish spokesman said here today.

Mr. Stanley Abramovitch, representative of the American Joint Distribution Committee, denied reports from Baghdad that a large-scale exodus of Jews was planned because of pressure by the Persian Government.

"The Persian Government is continuing its cooperation with minorities," Abramovitch said. "We have been assured that there are no plans to deprive Jews of their citizenship, as Iraq did."

# Cables in Brief

OIL.—The Soviet [illegible] barrels of oil last year, according to the U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Mines.

EXPELLED. — The Executive of the Peronista Party [illegible] expelled one member and [illegible] other [illegible] indiscipline. Both are members of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies.

[illegible] — [illegible] Ambassador to Moscow.

HEADHUNTERS. — [illegible] a village on the [illegible] in a raid by [illegible] last week.

## Plane Crash Kills Nine in Seattle

SEATTLE, Tuesday (Reuter). — At least 11 people were killed and 12 were injured when a four-engined plane crashed against a hillside south of the Seattle business district today.

Six of the dead were members of the plane's crew and the others the occupants of a building. Rescue squads are still searching for people buried in the ruins.

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*This is the only intimation.*

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**THE JERUSALEM POST**

Founded as The Palestine Post in 1932. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem by The Palestine Post Ltd. Registered at the G.P.O.

Founder and Editor Gershon Agron.

Managing Editor: Ted R. Lurie.

Editorial Office & Management: 9 Rehov Hahavazeleth, Jerusalem, P.O.B. 81, Tel. [illegible] (4 lines).

Tel Aviv Bureau: 52 Nahlat Benyamin, P.O.B. 1125, Tel. [illegible] (2 lines). Haifa: 1 Khayat St. [illegible], Tel. [illegible] (2 lines).

Subscription IL.11.500 p.a. Advertising rates on request.

The right is reserved to make changes in the wording of advertisements or to postpone insertions when space is not available.

Wednesday, August 15, 1951
Ab 12, 5711. Dhulqa'dah 12, 1370


THERE will be widespread relief at the turn events have taken in Persia. There will also be some pertinent enquiries into the reasons why a mutually satisfactory agreement between Britain and Persia, which now seems probable, was considered out of the question only a few weeks ago. It is clear that the mission headed by Mr. Stokes has reason to be grateful for the groundwork done by Mr. Harriman, envoy of President Truman. What is not so clear is why it was left to Mr. Harriman to induce goodwill at Teheran and by what means, unavailable to the negotiators before him, he did so. A tense situation had been allowed to develop in the period leading up to Mr. Harriman's intervention, which might have had catastrophic results for the Persians and have led to a serious worsening of conditions throughout the Middle East and possibly throughout the world. The optimistic reports of the progress made by the Stokes mission suggest that much of this could have been avoided.

**STOKES-HARRIMAN**

The British Government, as the main shareholder in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, must bear some of the responsibility for the danger that was allowed to develop. It should have acted much sooner and more generously and certainly, in the early period of the dispute, could have exercised more tact than it did. From all accounts, competing oil companies, until subjected to the pressure of their Government, added their own brand of fuel to a fire which might easily have got out of control. Official clumsiness and commercial considerations naturally served to encourage a Persian oligarchy which had dreams of huge wealth and power as a result of getting the oilfields and refinery into its own hands, whilst pretending to serve only the interests of an exploited and inflammable people. The fact that the United States Government at last felt compelled to step in is not particularly creditable to the two governments directly concerned or to the oil companies; nor, it would seem to us, can a good case be made out for the complaint heard in some British quarters, that America's action in Teheran is part of a general policy to edge Britain out of her foremost place in the Middle East.

The people of Israel, even those who have long memories, have no desire to see British influence in the Middle East wane. At the same time, it is a hard and undeniable fact that the Moslem nations of this region regard Britain as relatively a spent force, and are disinclined even in fostering their most extravagant nationalistic schemes, to heed cautionary protests from London. A British Labour Government, properly nervous of the imperial habits of the past, and with India as the impressive example of its revulsion from those antiquated habits, is at a loss to find the middle course between the policy of scuttle and the Palmerstonian method of "showing the flag." The net result, in such instances as Persia and Egypt, where immense British interests are involved, is the absence of any recognizable policy and the gradual diminution of authority to the point where, in order to avoid dangerous excesses of nationalism, the United States is bound to intervene. Where Palmerston had his gunboats the United States has the more persuasive offer of financial assistance. Where the one had to impose stability the other is in a position to bargain for it; and since stability is the crying need in this sensitive region, the fact that America steps in to secure it with the only acceptable means at present available to the Western Powers, is not, in itself, a reasonable cause for complaint. Whether it is, indeed, regional stability that the United States gets in return, is of course, open to question.

END OF ERA OF COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS

# Britain's Multiple Role in Iran

By FLORA LEWIS

TEHERAN. — THE commercial concession system, even in such backward countries as Saudi Arabia, is nearing the end of its days, in the opinion of careful observers who have analysed the Anglo-Persian oil dispute and its reverberations about the Middle East. They feel that the time has come to look for a new and politically more acceptable form for developing the natural riches of countries too poor in technology and capital to do it for themselves.

Private concessions, though they continue to be granted, are really a hang-over from the days of great trade and industrial expansion when the formation of little private empires in distant parts of the world was considered a daring and desirable enterprise.

The inevitable complexity and size of such industries as oil and large-scale mining have tended to perpetuate in these fields a system that elsewhere has dropped by the way. But, slowly and painfully, social coherence is growing in the countries mainly concerned. And it requires for its development a sense of local pre-eminence of which uneducated peoples seem to feel deprived by large and active foreign operations in their midst.

**Economic Paradox**

There is a paradox in this. The same peoples who so bitterly resent the maintenance of foreign-managed industry are usually intensely anxious to secure new foreign capital for further exploitation of their economic potentialities. So it is not the advent of money nor even of skills from abroad that really perturbs them. Apparently the trouble is size and exclusiveness.

Size is unavoidable for reasons of technical and economic efficiency and it seems hard to see any way of avoiding central direction for the same reason.

If an agreement is reached between Persia and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to end their dispute, it may well provide a useful formula for new undertakings in other undeveloped countries that would avoid the risk of such dangerous conflicts as have arisen here. One possibility would be, in effect, a reversal of the royalty system. This would mean that instead of the profits going to the foreign concern operating an industry, out of which certain sums are paid to the nation as owner of the natural wealth exploited, the nation would in theory take all revenues. Out of them, it would then pay the foreign entrepreneur a fee for his managerial contribution and a reasonable return, including calculation of risk, on his capital.

**National Identification**

Such a system would probably require the proprietary nation to use, for the first time, some of its own income from the industry for reinvestment in its maintenance and further development. But that might, also for the first time, give a healthy sense of participation in the industry and encourage a better appreciation of the country's own interest in the most efficient possible exploitation of its resources.

Another development, impossible in such places as Kuwait or Bahrein but becoming essential in more advanced countries, is to establish the nationality of the operating concern as identical with the nation where it operates. AIOC, for example, is incorporated in London, has its headquarters and book-keepers there, and pays income tax to the British Government only.

**Government Shares**

The Persians like to cite in contrast the newly formed Creole Oil Company in Venezuela. This is entirely American-owned and is linked, in a closed circuit, with purchasing and marketing companies in the United States, but it is nevertheless a Venezuelan company. Its headquarters and its directors are in Venezuela and that is where its taxes, based on profits made within Venezuela are paid. The related concerns, engaged in transport and selling, pay what taxes are owed on profits made once the oil leaves Venezuela to the country of their incorporation, that is, the United States.

Such an arrangement for the AIOC would be more of a blow at the British Treasury than it would at the company, which might quite possibly find itself paying less rather than more taxes in the end. It is one of the complexities of the Persian oil dispute that the British Government is intimately connected with the company in four quite different and sometimes conflicting roles, and it would seem at times that they are undecided just which one to play at any given moment.

The Government is proprietor, holding a majority of the stock. It is also a large and favoured consumer, as a result of the Admiralty contract and the sales of petrol to the Royal Air Force. Thirdly, it is the taxer and overseer with the same relationship it has to any other British business. And, in relations with foreign countries, it is the national protector.

# IN SEARCH OF A CHARTER

By BERNARD RICHARDS

"Do you think we'll get the Charter?" asked the Red-Hot Zionist in America. Charter! exclaimed the Air-Conditioned Zionist. "I don't know what you mean. A Charter is what Dr. Herzl wanted but his time has long passed. This is the year 1951 and not 1910. Turkey no longer possesses Palestine and the deserted country is now pretty well occupied!"

"You don't know what's going on," chided the R.H.Z.

"Perhaps not" returned the A.C.Z. "but I know what's in the book. Dr. Herzl's Memoirs, the reports of early Zionist World Congresses, and the entire Zionist literature of the time is full of the Charter idea... Here is one part of the story! Dr. Herzl, says Israel Cohen in "The Zionist Movement," was bent from the outset upon obtaining a Charter from the Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey for an autonomous settlement in Palestine! I thought that chapter was closed.

"Yes, you know the old history," said the R.H.Z. "but you are not alive to what's going on today.

"Perhaps not," answered the A.C.Z. "I read all the ten letters and eight circulars and seven appeals which come from my Zionist District every day. I admit I do not understand everything. Some of the things I am asked to do and to subscribe to are the same things that were required of me in 1911 — just about forty years ago. They take me back to the Zionist conventions in Tannersville, N. Y. The appeals for a new and large membership, for the revival and strengthening of the Zionist movement sounds as if we were planning to build another Jewish State, somewhere. Still I am puzzled and now you come along with a Charter and confuse me all the more. Who wants the Charter and from whom?

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine or World Zionist Organization wants to obtain a charter from the Government of Israel."

"Why does the Jewish Agency have to have a charter?"

"We want an agreement, we require certain rights."

"Rights? So through all the years in which we assisted first Palestine and then Israel we were violating the law? I am completely dazed. I certainly feel no sense of guilt in the matter."

"This is a plain business proposition," said the R.H.Z. "We want an agreement, a contract to have something to say in connection with certain colonization and industrial projects in Israel. That's what is behind the idea."

"It's almost comprehensible. But I still don't know what you mean when you demand that we have something to say. There seem to be a plethora of sayings, speeches, statements, proclamations, declarations and no dearth of ideas and even some opinions in Israel itself. You want to have something to say? Let's continue as heretofore to say it with dollars."

"Yes, but we have to have some understanding."

"Understanding? Read the Yiddish story of Reuben Asher Brandes "Der Rebbe fun Pompian." The Rabbi, quite of his own accord conceived the idea of complete social equality, or of all residents of the town sharing their wealth and belongings. He went to the rich men and leaders of the Community to ask for advice as to how to bring the great change about. The *nogid* proposed that if the Rabbi would undertake to persuade all the wealthy *bal habatim* to accept the plan he, the *nogid*, would agree to obtain the consent of all the poor people."

"What's the moral?"

"If the Z.O.A. will undertake—as it seems ready to do — to have American Jews open their purses ever wider and wider, the present writer agrees to obtain the consent of Israel to receive the funds and all good ideas and proposals floating about, charter or no charter."


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# Readers' Letters

## HEALTH AND PUBLIC RIGHT

To the Editor of The POST

Sir, — I am under the impression that the task of the Ministry of Health is not to protect the Ministry from the public, but to protect the public from disease. If this impression is correct, I am at a loss to understand the evasiveness in the joint statement of the Ministries of Health and Agriculture concerning the production and distribution of milk and milk products.

As examples quote:

The Ministries' statement said: "The bottles pass through a special sterilization process in hot water and chlorine solution. This sterilization process has never been interrupted..."

But on August 7 (as reported in *The Post*) a senior bacteriologist at Tnuva "...admitted, however, that Tnuva had often found itself without sterilization supplies... A fortnight ago, for example, there was no chlorine for cleaning containers, he said."

On August 3, *The Post* reported experts' opinions to the effect that the percentage of cattle tuberculosis infection is "higher than in any other country," and that "one out of every six tests made in municipal areas recently was positive and one out of every two contained living Abortus bacteria..."

But the Ministries' statement says that: "...a multiplication of cases of this type of contamination is not yet known to us." The anticipatory of the "not yet" is something less than a delight. Are we to judge from this that the Ministries expect that a multiplication of infection will soon become known?

The examples could be multiplied by anyone reading all the newspaper accounts; but perhaps they will suffice to indicate that the Ministries involved have been more interested in covering their inadequacies than in either protecting the public or informing it sufficiently to enable the public to protect itself.

The accusation has been made that milk and milk products reach the consuming public in unsanitary condition. Is this true or false?

The accusation has been made that the incidence of infection from these products is high. Is this true or false?

The accusation has been made that sterilization processes at Tnuva are now, or have been, inadequate. Are they? Were they?

Does the Ministry of Health guarantee to the public that its policies and its enforcement of these policies were, are, and will be adequate to protect the health of the public?

Lest anyone should take refuge in the contention that the public should not be alarmed, may I venture the point that nothing alarms the public so much as the feeling that they are not being fully and honestly informed. This feeling now exists. And this public has adequately demonstrated its right to be informed. It is often a short step for public officials from deciding what to tell the public, to deciding not to tell the public. The last step, having been taken, ends democracy.

Yours etc,
*MICHAEL ELKINS*

Jerusalem, August 13

### "SABRAS" AND FRUIT FLY

To the Editor of The POST

Sir, — A few days ago I read in your paper that because "sabras" are not being picked, the Mediterranean fruit-fly is becoming a serious menace to agriculture. In view of this it seems strange that "sabras" were confiscated by officials of the Food Control Office because they belong to the Custodian of Abandoned Property.

I think it would be much cheaper and wiser to let immigrants pick the "sabras" and earn a few pounds than to engage workers to pick them (and possibly destroy them) or to let them rot in the fields.

Yours etc,
*DAVID KORN*

Jerusalem, August 10

**THE FRONT AND THE REAR DURING MANOEUVRES**

Countrywide military manoeuvres invariably disturb the normal life of the citizen and the country. Quick mobilization in the rear, fighting activity in the area of the manoeuvres, which will be turned into a front-line — will be a considerable burden on the country and its workers. The General Headquarters will do its utmost to reduce the disturbances, but some suffering cannot be avoided during the manoeuvres.

However, the citizens of the state will bear any discomfort in the knowledge that the purpose of military manoeuvres is to save soldiers lives. The more we train ourselves, the Regular Army and Reserves, to face every surprise — the less we will have to sacrifice in the event of real emergency.

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# MUSICAL DIARY

A RECORDED programme in memory of Arnold Schoenberg was broadcast in the I.S.C.M. series on Saturday afternoon by Kol Israel. A repeat performance of one of the last works by the bold experimentalist was the "Ode to Napoleon," op. 41. According to one of his devoted partisans, Max Graf, it "contains a passionate inner excitement that makes the severe musical construction glow."

This critic has to confess that after listening to it for the fourth time, the approach seemed no less ear-splitting, befitting the music of the atomic age. It was preceded by op. 4, the string-sextet "Verklaerte Nacht," Schoenberg's best-known composition. Inspired by Richard Dehmel's poem, it is purely romantic in colour, developing Wagnerian Tristan-chromatics, passionate and sensual in the melodic strings. The composer later made a transcription for string orchestra.

Under the name "Pillar of Fire," the choreographer Anthony Tudor produced Schoenberg's "Transfigured Night" for the Ballet Theatre at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. Another nocturne by Schoenberg, "Pierrot Lunaire," had previously been transformed into a ballet by Adolph Bolm in Chicago. In this music we already find the characteristic "*Sprechgesang*" that melodramatic pattern, later transformed in the "Ode to Napoleon."

**Pressler Bows in San Diego**

"Glories of musical masterpieces were enjoyed by an audience of 3,200 when Midsummer Night's Symphonies opened at Balboa Park Bowl," writes the "San Diego Tribune." "Menahem Pressler, solo pianist in the Schumann concerto, proved to be the artistic climax of the evening... He entranced listeners and spurred the orchestra to some of the most telling playing of the evening. But it was the ever-present beauty of his tone, coupled with an eloquence ranging from the intimate to the brilliantly grandiloquent, which made this a memorable performance. Pressler is the virtuoso-poet one longs to hear again... He was cheered by the public, feted by the orchestra, kissed by the conductor." (Fabien Sevitzky.)

According to the "San Diego Union": "The young pianist played with a touch of inspiration. He brought out the poetry and the warm personal message of Schumann's music.

**Isaac Stern Ending Tour**

Vociferous applause greeted Isaac Stern's performance of the Sibelius and Mendelssohn Violin Concertos at the Israel Philharmonic's concert, conducted by Walter Goehr, at the Ramat Gan Amphitheatre Thursday night.

After having given a recital at Ein Harod on Friday and in Tel Aviv on Monday, assisted by the pianist Alexander Zaikin, Isaac Stern's last appearance will be at the I.P.O.'s concluding concert of the season in Jerusalem tonight. The following evening both soloist and conductor, Walter Goehr, will leave for Europe by Air France.

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# REGENERATING ZIONISM AT THE 23rd CONGRESS

By Yosef Sprinzak
SPEAKER OF THE FIRST KNESSET

THE Zionist Congress which meets for the first time in Zion—in the State of Israel—must be the Congress of the Regeneration of Zionism. If we speak of "Regeneration" that means that something has grown old and fallen into decay. And that is indeed what has happened to the Zionist Movement, which has arrived at what we may call in conventional terms a difficult and dangerous crisis.

But if we are to use the frequently employed term "crisis," we must hasten to explain that we are not thinking of the "crisis" in the relations between New York and Jerusalem nor of personal antagonisms, or organizational deficiencies, or the problem of "status," or even of certain differences of principle, and social and class conflicts within the Zionist Movement.

We have been accustomed to such phenomena ever since the birth of Zionism—from the time of Herzl up to our own days they have been nothing new. These are the usual corollaries of many movements and especially of a movement so varied in its personal composition and geographical distribution as the World Zionist Movement. These incidental phenomena in the life of the Zionist Organization have of course done much harm, and they have often made Zionist work more complicated, but they have not brought it to the brink of crisis. This is due to the vital and decisive fact that the two principal foundations of Zionism—those who were to do the work, on the one hand, and the goal, on the other hand—the "subject" and the "object" of the Movement, as it were—have remained intact and unimpaired almost all the time.

Only once was there the danger of a crisis which might have destroyed Zionism, and that was in the days of the Uganda question, when one of the two bases of its existence might have disappeared — when there was a danger of the disappearance of "Zion," the object and aim of the Movement.

And now, 48 years after Uganda, in the days of the rise of the State, Zionism once again stands face to face with the threat of a fundamental crisis.

In the days of the first crisis, in the Uganda days, it was the "object" of the Movement that was in danger of destruction, whereas in our own day we have experienced the destruction of the active and living "subject" of Zionism.

### Men and Movement

When we speak of Zionism, we do not mean the sentiment expressed in the prayer, "And restore our judges as in the beginning . . . ," the sentiment which has filled the hearts of our people in all generations and all countries; we mean active Zionism, the Zionism which aims at the solution of the Jewish question, which is based on Pinsker's "Autoemancipation" and Herzl's "Judenstaat." This Zionism had an active "subject," an agent to carry it out and bring it to fruition. Zionism as an active movement arose in the place of the greatest concentration and the greatest distress of millions of Jews, in Rumania, in Russia, in Poland and Lithuania, and carried with it the Jews of the bordering and neighbouring countries. The decisive factor in the rise of active Zionism was the pressure of persecution and the fear of complete destruction and annihilation. This fear of annihilation had existed previously, but in recent generations it was combined with the recognition of the need for self-deliverance. The recognition of this necessity ripened and matured as the result of the failure of the attempt to find a way out of the ghetto and the destruction of all illusions of continued existence in the Diaspora.

"Why have you poured your poison into my songs?" writes S. Frug, the poet of Jewish sorrow. "I went out to the bright field, and the bright Spring came out to meet me." As a reply to the song of welcome to the Spring came the pogroms of the eighties of the last century, and it became clear that "there is no air to breathe; our enemies are drunk with joy."

*Do you hear the rattle of our fetters, my brother?*
*We rot in the thick darkness,*
*The sun does not shine,*
*There is no path, there is no light. . .*

This song of disappointment rang in the ears of the first Bilu, who opened up the way to the Spring which was not to bring disappointment.

### Revelation of Dreyfus Case

The Dreyfus trial revealed to Herzl the depths of the danger, showed him the need for immediate deliverance and roused him to organize the powers of the people and establish the Zionist Organization. The Zionist Movement was combined with a popular movement; the recognition of the need for deliverance brought about the birth of a movement with a living "subject," vitally concerned with practical realization.

The movement had a cause—the fear of annihilation; it was conditioned by mass concentration of millions in the Diaspora of Eastern Europe; its background was rich in spiritual and cultural values, rooted in the lamentations of the Eve of the Ninth of Av; its climax was the songs of Zion and redemption sung by Judah Halevi and Haim Nachman Bialik.

It would be criminal folly if we tried to explain the crisis by the weariness that has followed the great effort made by Zionism during the last few years, and it would be dangerous if we attempted to ascribe it to ideological deviations or personal or party intrigues. These things exist, but they are only trifles, the results and the accompaniments of more serious, objective causes.

The fundamental cause of the crisis is the destruction of the principal active force in Zionism. Six millions of the people have been murdered, two millions have been silenced by the political system of the countries in which part of the remnant of the Jewish people has survived. The power of eight million of the people has been destroyed. Above all, the centre of Jewish national and traditional vitality, the centre of those who were personally and enthusiastically interested in the realization of Zionism, the centre of those who carried out the work of realization, has been destroyed.

But Providence has left the people a point of support and power in the Diaspora as the result of the creation of a Jewish centre great in importance and dimensions, namely American Jewry. There are also smaller communities in some of the countries of Western Europe and South Africa, and there is also a vital Jewish centre, glowing with Jewish life and feeling, in the countries of Latin America, but the principal national centre of Jewry in the Diaspora today is America. American Jewry has identified itself with the concept of the Jewish people, and it is, as it were, the principal "address" of the Jewish people in the Diaspora.

This new Jewish centre has inherited the place, the importance and the functions of the previous centre, which has been destroyed. And indeed American Jewry began to fulfil its great and central function even in the days when the European centre still existed, during the years between the First World War and the Second, which demonstrated the leadership in Jewish Diaspora life for which American Jewry was destined. But from the Zionist point of view, the new Jewish centre has not attained the status of the "subject"—the active force—of Zionism. It is characterized by only one of the elements which made European Jewry the "subject" of Zionism: the concentration of five and a half million Jews within the borders of one state. On the other hand, it lacks two of the decisive elements which produce, foster and maintain the force which is interested in the realization of Zionism for its own sake. The fear of annihilation and the imperative need for self-deliverance do not occupy the attention of American Jewry, nor are they vital factors in its life. After years of suffering during the period of immigration and absorption it has attained personal security, a large measure of civic equality, economic stability and great material prosperity. The good fortune of the American Jews has kept their everyday lives free from anxiety, has helped them to forget the drawbacks of existence in exile and has destroyed the direct and pressing forces which might have made them personally interested in the realization of Zionism.

Another factor the lack of which prevents American Jewry from becoming the "subject" of Zionism is that national and cultural background without which no national liberation movement can exist. The new centre has not succeeded in becoming in its own right a home of learning and culture, which would produce new national values and, by combining them with our ancient spiritual achievements, would constitute a new spiritual entity, which could form the basis for the maintenance and development of Jewish life. In spiritual and cultural matters everything took the form of "imports"—imports from previous homes of Jewish culture. The immigration from Western Europe brought with it German Reform Jewry, and established important scholastic institutions suitable to the needs of that community. And the immigration from Eastern Europe brought with it the spirit of "Yiddishkeit" and the attachment to the life of the Jewry which was rooted "in der alten heim"—in the old home—from which they had come and in which they had lived in Europe. The "Landsmanschaften" encouraged this spirit and assisted in the absorption of the immigrants. It preserved their contacts with their former homes and their interest in the fate of those who remained "over there."

### The "Melting Pot"

The immigrants found their way to work, and the great Jewish labour movement which arose in America should have been a decisive factor in the development of the new centre. The ferment of social life which arose out of this movement and the contribution of the intelligentsia which came from Eastern Europe should have produced new opportunities for the development of American Jewry and combine the spiritual "imports" of Western Jewry with the "Yiddishkeit" of Eastern Jewry and the values of the Labour movement. This should have become a firm basis for the development of the character of the new Jewry—leading to the establishment of "The House of Israel" in America.

But instead of this logical process, the conditions of American life have directed the development towards a different process, the process of complete adaptation and the progressive and speedy breaking of all ties with the past. The generation of the parents still preserves some connection with synagogue ceremonial and the sentimental attachment to Jewish affairs which has been brought over from the "alten heim." But all these connections and sentiments have become weaker in the course of time and have disappeared on the threshold of the new life of the younger generation.

Of course we must not ignore even for a moment the tremendous material assistance which the Jews of America have extended to the building of the Yishuv, and their political and material help for the establishment and maintenance of the State. We have every reason to be thankful for the existence of the concentration in America, for American generosity to the peoples of the world in general and for the fortunate economic position of our brothers in that country. This assistance is important not only because of its size but as a direct participation in the personal fulfilment of the needs of Zionism and the State of Israel.

But the rise of Israel and the message of the Return has not led to the upsurge of a pioneering movement in America, either according to the pattern of the little towns of Poland or according to the pattern of the non-Jewish pioneering past of America itself. The longings for Zion, expressed in the work of Emma Lazarus, the Jewish poetess whose lines adorn the Statue of Liberty in New York harbour, even the great Zionist adventure of Mordecai Emmanuel Noah, a hundred years ago, have not come to the surface at the great call of the State of Israel. And even during these days of Jewish national greatness, the American "Halaluta" has continued to exist on the same small scale as in the old days.

It is true that we must not be ungrateful from the Zionist point of view to those individuals who were moved to come to us during the years of the War of Liberation and the rise of the State. The monument on the road to Jerusalem, on which the name of David Marcus is inscribed, speaks to our hearts, and we feel a deep affection for the hundreds of Machal volunteers and the small groups of pioneers who have reached Israel from America. They are precious to us, especially as symbols of the future, but as isolated, though encouraging, phenomena within this five million strong Jewry they make no difference to the true situation and the real character of American Jewry today. Such and not otherwise is the only Jewish centre, great in value and rich in decisive opportunities in regard to Zionism, and the need for an active "subject" which should be interested in the realization of Zionism.

To this situation, which is a result of objective developments, we must add a psychological factor.

### Roots of the Crisis

Quite a number of people, and not only in America, have with the establishment of the State of Israel, as it were, been liberated from the burden of the duty to show solidarity and anxiety for the fate of their unhappy people and their persecuted brothers. Now they feel free to be indifferent, to cast off all allegiance to Zionism.

This feeling also provides a justification for the fostering of the problem of "dual loyalty"—the imaginary contradiction between loyalty to the State of which you are a citizen and devotion to the interests of another State — the State of your people — the State of Israel. The problem of "dual loyalty" is not a new one. Its origin is easily understood; it is the fear of "What will the Gentiles say?"—the same fear which moved the "Protest Rabbis" in Germany to protest against the assembly of the first Zionist Congress in Munich. At that time Herzl did not recoil before this fear; he felt in his heart the will of the generations and the enthusiastic demands of the masses for whom the realization of Zionism was a vital interest — and he established the Zionist Congress in Basle. This fear did not prevail against the power of Zionism, which returned from Basle to Germany boldly, legally and openly.

Zionism is not an accidental invention; it is the basic and natural conclusion which arises out of the experience of generations and all the varied forms of the experiments which have been tried by the Jewish People to adapt itself to life in the Diaspora. Zionism is the last opportunity for final redemption.

### Zion and Diaspora

There are periods when the situation is clear, when it is lit up by the fires of a terrible catastrophe, when the rush to the only alternative, to the last line of self-defence, becomes an irresistible movement. And there are periods when the need for an alternative seems to disappear and people find it strange even to think of any last line of defence.

It is true that there are such periods, but nevertheless the experience of the generations is decisive. Once upon a time there was a famous and brilliant community in the Diaspora — the Babylonian Jewish community. Later there was another brilliant Diaspora community — that of Spain; and later still there came that outstanding community in exile—the German community which was so outstanding that it wiped out completely all memory of the state of exile. But the whirligig of history had its effect in all these attempts at adaptation and brought them all, together with a community like that of Yemen, to one common denominator; they all had to turn to the last line of defence, which alone could save and deliver.

No matter how conditions may change, in periods of persecution and periods of comfort alike, there are always those who, according to Herzl's definition, "either do not wish or are not able to remain in exile." For many of these, in all "periods," the Zionist conception preserves all its vitality. The existence of the alternative must be maintained, and we must always strengthen the recognition of the need for the continual preservation of the last line of defence.

The aim of Zionism has indeed been attained—we have been privileged to see the establishment of the State of Israel — but so long as the majority of the people is in a state of dispersion, Zionism continues to exist in theory, and the anxiety for the future of the majority of the people continues the need for its maintenance in practice—as a movement and as a World Zionist Organization, closely knit, leading the people without pause or weakening. The aim has been attained — the vision of Herzl has been transformed into reality—but the building of the State and the safeguarding of its existence and security constitute a prolonged and continuous process.

The transition from the liquidation of the exiled communities to the Ingathering of the Exiles—the establishment of a people renascent in cultural unity and productive work—all this requires a prolonged effort in all fields of economic and cultural life. The building of the State will require great investments in money and manpower. For a long time to come financial help on a large scale will be required. The burden of national investment, whose "dividends" will be paid from time to time to all those among our people who require "an assured home" — this burden will rest on the shoulders of the whole people for many years to come.

According to the varying political constellations which may arise in the world, the State will also require political support from the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. A fine example of political support of this kind was the combined effort of American Jewry under the direction of the Zionist leadership during the days of the great decision at the United Nations Assembly in November, 1947.

### Solidarity of the Yishuv

But there are and there will be situations in which the support required by the State involves complete and unflinching solidarity, clear-headed and unhesitating. We witnessed a wonderful example of this kind of solidarity in the ranks of British Jewry during the period of the struggle against the Mandatory regime. During the birth-pangs of the State we suffered heavy blows at the hands of British power, but we were compelled to strike heavy blows at British power in return. There were also blows for which we were not responsible, and for which we never wish to be responsible, but it is a fact that such blows were struck. Such incidents as the notorious and shameful affair of the "sergeants" might have aroused great confusion in the spirits of the British Jews, as British citizens living in the midst of the British people; but all this did not prevent British Zionists rousing the Jews of Britain to complete solidarity with the Yishuv in its struggle.

No one knows what situations lie in store in the development of the State of Israel, situations in which the same kind of solidarity may be required in one country or another. Such solidarity is not the result of mere friendship or affection for the State, but of a feeling of partnership and responsibility for the destiny of the State. Many and continuous are the needs of the State, and without the defensive supporting ring provided by the people, its progress cannot be assured. And this defensive ring is the Zionist Movement. Any people or State would be happy to possess such a line of defence.

(Continued on Page 9)

## Herzl's "People's Agency"

*Excerpts from Inaugural Address, Basle, Aug. 1897*



FELLOW DELEGATES: As one of those who called this Congress into being I have been granted the privilege of welcoming you. This I shall do briefly, for if we wish to serve the cause we should economize the valuable moments of the Congress. There is much to be accomplished within the space of three days. We want to lay the cornerstone of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish nation. The task is so great that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms.

From times immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration at the period when we were attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We have returned home, as it were. For Zionism is a home-coming to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a home-coming to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have sunk deep into misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered. This will be clearly demonstrated by the Zionist platform.

### National Union

Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultra-modern and the ultra-conservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof be necessary, of the national entity of the Jews. A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis.

Doubtless there will be discussions on the subject of an organization the need for which is recognized by all. Organization is an evidence of the reasonableness of a movement. But there is one point which should be clearly and energetically emphasized in order to further the solution of the Jewish question. We Zionists desire not an international league but international discussion. Needless to say this distinction is of the first importance in our eyes. It is this distinction which justifies the convening of our Congress. There will be no question of intrigues, secret interventions, and devious methods in our ranks, but only of unhampered utterances under the constant and complete supervision of public opinion. One of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into a question of Zion.

A popular movement of such vast dimensions will necessarily be attacked from many sides. Therefore the Congress will concern itself with the spiritual means to be employed for reviving and fostering the national consciousness of the Jews. Here, too, we must struggle against misconceptions. We have not the least intention of yielding a jot of the culture we have acquired. On the contrary, we are aiming toward a broader culture, such as an increase of knowledge brings with it. As a matter of fact, the Jews have always been more active mentally than physically.

### Rousing the People

It was because the practical forerunners of Zionism realized this that they inaugurated agricultural work for the Jews. We shall never be able, nor shall we desire, to speak of these attempts at colonization in Palestine and in Argentine otherwise than with genuine gratitude. But they spoke the first, not the last, word of the Zionist movement. For the Zionist movement must be greater in scope if it is to be at all. A people can be helped only by its own efforts, and if it cannot help itself it is beyond succour. But we Zionists want to rouse the people to self-help. No premature, unwholesome hopes should be awakened in this direction. This is another reason why publicity of procedure, as it is planned by our Congress, is so valuable.

One thing is to be adhered to inviolably: the agreement must be based on rights, and not on toleration. Truly we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be revoked at any time. . . .

### From Wonder to Action

On this solemn occasion, when Jews have come together from so many lands at the age-long summons of nationality, let our profession of faith be solemnly repeated. Should we not be stirred by a premonition of great events when we remember that at this moment the hopes of thousands upon thousands of our people depend upon our assemblage? In the coming hour the news of our deliberations and decisions will fly to distant lands, over the seven seas. Therefore enlightenment and comfort should go forth from this Congress. Let everyone find out what Zionism really is. Zionism, which was rumoured to be a sort of thousand years' wonder—that it is a moral, lawful, humanitarian movement, directed toward the long-yearned-for goal of our people. It was possible and permissible to ignore the spoken or written utterances of individuals within our ranks. Not so with the actions of the Congress. Thus the Congress, which is henceforth to be ruler of its discussions, must govern as a wise ruler.

### Great Cause

Finally, the Congress will provide for its own continuance, so that we may not disperse once more ineffectual and ephemeral. Through this Congress we are creating an agency for the Jewish people, such as it has not possessed heretofore, an agency of which it has stood in urgent need. Our cause is too great to be left to the ambition or the discretion of individuals. It must be elevated to the realm of the impersonal if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall live forever, not only until the redemption from age-long suffering is effected, but afterwards as well. Today we are here in the hospitable limits of this free city—where shall we be next year?

But wherever we shall be, and however distant the accomplishment of our task, let our Congress be earnest and high-minded, a source of welfare to the unhappy, of defiance to none, of honour to all Jewry. Let it be worthy of our past, the renown of which, though remote, is eternal!




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*"...We Sat Down, and Resolved to Weep No More"*

# DREAMERS AND PROPHETS AT THE FIRST CONGRESS



*Written more than fifty years ago and little known to the present generation, this chapter from Zangwill's "Dreamers of the Ghetto" (reproduced with a few omissions) is one of the most penetrating literary tributes ever paid to the young Zionist Movement, to the Congress, and to Theodor Herzl.*

By Israel Zangwill

"BY the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion." By the river of Bâle we sit down, resolved to weep no more.

An oblong hall, of drab yellow, with cane chairs neatly parted in the middle and green-baized tables for reporters, and a green-baized rostrum, and a green-baized platform, over which rise the heads and festal shirt-fronts of the leaders. A strangely assorted set of leaders, but all with that ink-mark on the brow which is as much on the Continent the badge of action, as it is in England the symbol of sterility; all believing more or less naively that the pen is mightier than the millionaire's gold.

And even as no two of the leaders are alike, so do the rank-and-file fail to resemble one another. Writers and journalists, poets and novelists and merchants, professors and men of professions — types that once sought to slough their Jewish skins, and mimic, on Darwinian principles, the colours of the environment, but that now, with some tardy sense of futility or stir of pride, proclaim their brotherhood in Zion — they are come from many places; from far lands and from near, from uncouth unknown villages of Bukowina and the Caucasus, and from the great European capitals; thickliest from the pales of persecution, in rare units from the free realms of England and America — a strange phantasmagoria of faces. A small, sallow Pole, with high cheek-bones; a blonde Hungarian, with a flaxen moustache, a brown, hatchet-faced Rumanian; a fresh-coloured Frenchman, with eyeglasses; a dark, Marrano-descended Dutchman; a chubby German; a fiery-eyed Russian, tugging at his own hair with excitement, perhaps in prescience of the prison awaiting his return; a dusky Egyptian, with the close-cropped, curly black hair and all but the nose of a negro; a yellow-bearded Swede; a courtly Viennese lawyer; a German student, with proud duel-slashes across his cheek; a Viennese student, first fighter in the University, with a coloured band across his shirt-front; a dandy, smelling of the best St. Petersburg circles; and one solitary caftan-Jew, with ear-locks and skull-cap, wafting into the nineteenth century the cabalistic mysticism of the Carpathian Messiah.

### Presage of Ingathering

Who speaks of the Jewish type? One can only say negatively that these faces are not Christian. Is it the stamp of a longer, more complex heredity? Is it the brand of suffering? Certainly a stern Congress, the speeches little lightened by humour, the atmosphere of historic tragedy too overbrooding for intellectual dalliance. Even the presence of the gayer sex — for there are a few ladies among the delegates and more peep down from the crowded spectators' gallery that runs sideways along the hall — only makes a few shots of visual brightness in the sober scene. Seriousness is stamped everywhere; on the broad-bulging temples of the Russian oculist, on the egg-shaped skull and lank white hair of the Heidelberg professor, on the open countenance of the Hungarian architect, on the weak, narrow lineaments of the neurotic Hebrew poet; it gives dignity to red hair and freckles, tones down the grossness of too-fleshy cheeks, and lends an added beauty to finely-cut features. Superficially, then, they have little in common, and if almost all speak German — the language of the Congress — it is only because they are all masters of three or four tongues. Yet some subtle instinct links them each to each; presage, perhaps, of some brotherhood of mankind, of which Ingathered Israel—or even ubiquitous Israel—may present the type.

Through the closed red-curtained windows comes ever and anon the sharp ting of the bell of an electric car, and the President, anxiously steering the course of debate through difficult international cross-roads, rings his bell almost as frequently.

### A Kingly Dreamer

A majestic Oriental figure the President's—not so tall as it appears when he draws himself up and stands dominating the assembly with eyes that brood and glow. — you would say one of the Assyrian Kings whose sculptured heads adorn our Museums, the very profile of Tiglath-Pileser. In sooth, the beautiful sombre face of a kingly dreamer, but of a Jewish dreamer who faces the fact that flowers are grown in dung. A Shelley beats in the air his luminous wings in vain; our Jewish dreamer dreams along the lines of life; his dream but discounts the future, his prophecy is merely fore-speaking, his vision pre-vision. He talks agriculture, viticulture, subvention of the Ottoman Empire, both by direct tribute and indirect enrichment; stocks and shares, railroads, internal and to India; natural development under expansion—all the jargon of our iron age. Let not his movement be confounded with those petty projects for helping Jewish agriculturists into Palestine. What! Improve the Sultan's land without any political equivalent guaranteed in advance! Difficulty about the holy places of Christianity and Islam? Pooh! Extra-territorial.

A practised publicist, a trained lawyer, a not unsuccessful comedy writer, converted to racial self-consciousness by the 'Hep, Hep' of Vienna, and hurried into unforeseen action by his own paper-scheme of a Jewish State, he has, perhaps, at last—and not unreluctantly—found himself as a leader of men.

### Vision and Facts

In a Congress of impassioned rhetoricians he remains serene, moderate; his voice is for the more part subdued; in its most emotional abandonments there is a dry undertone, almost harsh. He quells disorder with a look, with a word, with a sharp touch of the bell. The cloven hoof of the Socialist peers out from a little group. At once The Congress shall be captured by no party! And the Congress is in roars of satisfaction.

'Tis the happy faculty of all idealists to overlook the visible—the price they pay for seeing the unseen. Even our open-eyed Jewish idealist has been blest with ignorance of the actual. But, in his very ignorance of the people he would lead, and the country he would lead them to, lies his strength, just as in his admission that his Zionist fervour is only that second-rate species produced by local anti-Semitism, lies a powerful answer to the dangerous libel of local unpatriotism. Of the real political and agricultural conditions of Palestine he knows only by hearsay. Of Jews he knows still less. Not for him the paralyzing sense of the humours of his race, the petty feud of Dutchman and Pole, the mutual superiorities of Sephardi and Ashkenazi, the grotesque incompatibility of Western and Eastern Jew, the cynicism and snobbery of the prosperous, the materialism of the uneducated adventurers in unexploited regions. He stands so high and aloof that all specific colourings and markings are blurred for him into the common brotherhood, and, if he is cynic enough to suspect them, he is philosopher enough to recognise that all nations are compact of incongruities, vitalised by warring elements. Nor has he any sympathetic perception of the mystic religious hopes of generations of zealots, of the great swirling spiritual currents of Ghetto life. But in a national movement — which appears at first sight hopeless, because it lacks the great magnetizer, religion — lies a chance denied to one who should boldly proclaim himself the evangel of a modern Judaism, the last of the Prophets. Political Zionism alone can transcend and unite any religious formula would disturb and dissever. Along this line may all travel to Jerusalem. And, as the locomotive from Jaffa draws all alike to the sacred city, and leaves them there to their several matters, so may the pious concern themselves not at all with the religion of the engineer.

### 'Gold-Rush and God-Rush'

Not this the visionary figure created by the tear-dimmed yearning of the Ghetto; no second Sabbatai Zevi, master of celestial secrets, divine reincarnation, come with signs and wonders to lead back Israel to the Promised Land. Still less the prophet prefigured by Christian visionaries, some of whom, fevered nevertheless, press upon the Congress itself complex collations of texts, or little cards with the signs of the cross. Palestine, indeed, but an after-thought: an aspiration of unsuspected strength, to be utilized—like all human forces—by the maker of history. States are the expression of souls; in any land the Jewish soul could express itself in characteristic institutions, could shake off the long oppression of the ages, and renew its youth in touch with the soil. Yet since there is longing for Palestine, let us make capital of it—capital that will return its safe percentage. A rush to Palestine will mean all that seething medley of human wants and activities out of which profits are snatched by the shrewd — gold-rush and God-rush — they are both one in their economic working. May not the Jews themselves take shares in so promising a project? May not even their great bankers put their names to such a prospectus? The shareholders incur no liability beyond the extent of their shares; there shall be no call upon them to come to Palestine—let them remain in their snug nests; the Jewish Company, Limited, seeks a home only for the desolate dove that finds no rest for the sole of her feet.

And yet beneath all this statesmanlike prose, touched with the special dryness of the jurist, lurk the romance of the poet and the purposeful vagueness of the modern evolutionist; the fantasy of the Hungarian, the dramatic self-consciousness of the literary artist, the heart of the Jew.

### Synthesis of Mankind

Is one less a poet because he regards the laws of reality, less religious because he accepts them, less a Jew because he will live in his own century? Our dreamer will have none of the Mediaeval, is enamoured of the Modern; has lurking admiration of the 'over-man' of Nietzsche, even to be overpassed by the coming Jerusalem Jew; the psychical Eurasian, the link and interpreter between East and West—nay, between antiquity and the modern spirit; the synthesis of mankind, saturated with the culture of the nations, and now at last turning home again, laden with the spiritual spoils of the world—for the world's benefit. He shall found an ideal modern State, catholic in creed, righteous in law, a centre of conscience—even geographically—in a world relapsing to Pagan chaos. And its flag shall be a 'shield of David,' with the Lion of Judah rampant, and twelve stars for the Tribes. No more of the cringing and the whispering in dark corners; no surreptitious invasion of Palestine. The Jew shall demand right, not tolerance. Israel shall walk erect. And he, Israel's spokesman, will not juggle with diplomatic combinations — he will play cards on table. He has nothing to say to the mob, Christian or Jewish, he will not intrigue with political underlings. He is no demagogue; he will speak with kings in their palaces, with prime ministers in their cabinets. There is a touch of the "hybris" of Lassalle, of the magnificence of Manasseh Bueno Barzillai Azevedo Da Costa, King of the question-beggars.

### Sons of Soil and Spirit

Do you object that the poor will be the only ones to immigrate to Palestine? Why, it is just those that we want. Prithee, how else shall we make our roads and plant our trees? No mention now of the Eurasian exemplar, the synthetic 'over-man.' Perhaps he is only to evolve. Did you suggest that an inner ennobling of scattered Israel might be the finer goal, the truer antidote to anti-Semitism? Simple heart, do you not see it is just for our good—not our bad—qualities that we are persecuted? A juggler—specious enough for the moment—with the word 'good'; forceful 'struggle-for-life' qualities substituted for spiritual, for ethical. And yet to doubt that the world would—and does—respond sympathetically to the finer elements so abundantly in Israel, is it not to despair of the world, of humanity? In such a world, what guarantee against the pillage of the Third Temple? And in such a world were life worth living at all? And, even with Palestine for ultimate goal, do you counsel delay, a nursing of the Zionist flame, a gradual education and preparation of the race for a great conscious historic rôle in the world's future, a forty years' wandering in the wilderness to organize or kill off the miscellaneous rabble—then will you, dreamer, turn a deaf ear to the cry of millions oppressed today? Would you ignore the appeals of these hundreds of telegrams, of these thousands of petitions with myriads of signatures, for the sake of some visionary perfection of tomorrow? Nay, nay, the cartoon of the Congress shall bring itself to pass. Against the picturesque wailers at the ruins of the Temple wall shall be set the no less picturesque peasants sowing the seed, whose harvest is at once waving grain and a regenerated Israel. The stains of sordid traffic shall be cleansed by the dews and the rains. In the Jewish peasant behold the ideal plebeian of the future; a son of the soil, yet also a son of the spirit. And what fair floriage of art and literature may not the world gain from this great purified nation, carrying in its bosom the experience of the ages?

### History in the Making

Not all his own ideas, these; some perhaps only half-consciously present to him, so that even in this very Congress the note of jealousy is heard, the claim of an earlier prophet insisted on fiercely. For a moment the dignified assembly becomes a prey to staviism, reproduces the sordid squabbles of the Kahal. As if every movement was not fed by subterranean fires, heralded by obscure rumblings, though 'tis only the earthquake or the volcanic jet which leaps into history!

But the President is finely impersonal. Not he, but the Congress. The Bulgarians have a tradition that the Messiah will be born on August 29. He shares this belief. Today the Messiah has been born — the Congress. In this Congress we procure for the Jewish people an organ which till now it did not possess, and of which it was so sadly in want. Our cause is too great for the ambition and wilfulness of a single person. It must be lifted up to something impersonal if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall be lasting, not only until we are redeemed from the old state, but still more so afterwards . . . serious and lofty, a blessing for the unfortunate, noxious to none, to the honour of all Jews, and worthy of a past, the glory of which is far off but everlasting.'

And as he steps from the tribune, amid the roar of "Hochs," and the thunder of hands and feet and sticks, and the flutter of handkerchiefs, with men precipitating themselves to kiss his hand, and others weeping and embracing, be sure that no private ambition possesses him, be sure that his heart wells only with the presentiment of great events and with uplifting thoughts of the millions who will thrill to the distant echo of this sublime moment.

### Glorious Assembly

What European parliament could glow with such a galaxy of intellect? Is not each man a born orator, master of arts or sciences? Has not the very caftan-Jew from the Carpathians published his poetry and his philosophy, gallantly championing 'The Master of the Name' against a Darwinian world? Heine Sabbath is changed back to a man. More potent than the Princess, the Congress has shown the Jew's manhood to the world. That old painter, whose famous Dance of Death drew for centuries the curious to Bâle, could not picture the Jew save as the gaberdined miser, only dropping his money-bag at Death's touch. Well, here is another sight for him — could Death, that took him too, bring him back for a moment, — these scholars, thinkers, poets, from all the lands of the Exile, who stand up in honour of the dead pioneers of Zionism, and, raising their right hands to heaven, cry, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning!" Yes, the dream still stirs at the heart of the mummied race, the fire quenched two thousand years ago sleeps yet in the ashes. And if our President forgets that the vast bulk of his brethren are unrepresented in his Congress, that they are content with the civic rights so painfully won, and have quite other conceptions of their creed's future, who will grudge him this moment of fine rapture?

Or, when at night, in the students' Kommers, with joyful weeping and with brotherly kisses, sages and greybeards join in the *gaudeamus igitur*, who shall deny him grounds for his faith that *joyous amus* yet, that the carking centuries have had no power over our immortal nation? "Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety."

The world in which prophecies are uttered cannot be the world in which prophecies are fulfilled. And yet when — at the wind-up of this memorable meeting — the Rabbi of Bâle, in the black skull-cap of sanctity, ascending the tribune amid the deafening applause of a catholic Congress, expresses the fears of the faithful, lest in the new Jewish State the religious Jew be under a ban; and when the President gravely gives the assurance, amid enthusiasm as frantic, that Judaism has nothing to fear — Judaism, the one cause and consolation of the ages of isolation and martyrdom, — does no sense of the irony of history intrude upon his exalted mood?

A CHALLENGE TO POETS

# Song of the State

By DOV VARDI

APPARENTLY, nascent states are not by their nature, the stuff of which poems are made. At most, they can provide inspiration for a national anthem, although most times it will need prizes and coaxing like a "Song of the Fleet" or an "Air-Arm Song." Yet, the famous Star Spangled Banner was not a product of 1776 or 1789, but of the later war of 1812, and, not inviting comparison, both Hatikva and Tehezakna were citizens of the Zionist Movement long before May 15, 1948. On the other hand, it was the October Revolution that set rolling a rumble of patriotic song and marching steps; and the Marseillaise, born in the heat of the French Revolution, is still sung round the world wherever liberty is dear.

These are some of the reflections which rise when the question is pointed: What have the Israel poets had to say about the State? Has this tremendous historical transition made any impression upon the poetry of today?

Were we to go scouting through the poetry of the past few years, we would find the poems bearing directly upon the State to be insignificant in number, and none could even stand comparison with Nathan Alterman's "The Silver Salver." In fact, it alone is the piece worth noting.

### War Poetry

During the hectic period of the struggle with the waning British power, and later on during the war, the muses were by no means silent. It was not at all like the years of World War II with the horror of the Jewish tragedy in Europe, when, it seemed at the beginning, the poets were stunned into silence. On the contrary, from 1945-8, we witnessed the flourishing of poetry in every form — the political satire by Alterman, light verses made for singing and recitation by Hayim Hefer, and then odes and lyrical verse by Hayim Guri and a whole school of young poets. So the struggle was sung — the war, the fallen, the weapons, the Negev — all that was fought for with blood and bereavement. The State was not sung.

Or perhaps we must seek the Song of the State in Bialik and the poets of his generation who saw the vision of Zion rebuilt and presented us with those great poems to the First in Zion, to the Basle Congress, and to the dreamer of the Jewish State? For indeed, the State was a reality in spirit long before it was so in action.

Must we then come with complaints to our music-makers? Must we demand: Sing us the Song of Zion! No. The State cannot dictate to our writers what they must write. The first imperative of the poet is to express himself. He cannot become a Keren Kayemeth poster rhymer if he is a serious writer. Shlonsky taught our poets that long ago. But the poet is expected to be sensitive to the problems of the land — the Ingathering of the Exiles, the gigantic peace-time expansion of the limits of colonization into the Huleh and the Negev, and Israel amid the nations. It is the dynamic Israel reality then, which he must strain through his own personality. And it may be that as Rabel sang:

*Not paeans of praise did I sing you my land . . .*
*Just a path across the fields.*

### The Still Voice

For greater than any formal poetry is the value of this still, small voice. Looking through our recent verse, we find the best of our poets singing from within, or at most, telling of the paths of this land. In this sense, such a poet as Nathan Yonathan whose first volume has just been published, is worth noting. He sings of the winding trails across the dust of our land. Nor does he forget to sing of himself too. For love is the eternal theme of poetry with and beyond states, and the songs of a man's village will be sung so long as an articulate human being walks the ground we live on. So, from the soil of the Emek, again we hear the still, soft voice.

One recalls Shlonsky's early poems in which the Third Aliya resounds with the hewing of hammers on the roads of the Emek, and in which a great white city springs up from the sands. These are the idylls of David Shimoni too (Shimonovitz in those days) which erected a lasting monument to the ways of the early Yishuv. What will these days finally leave in their wake? New poetry is always exciting, and the moment it comes to our lips, some already has the blended, mellowing taste of age. But the eyes are new and fresh, and fresh and new the hearts which respond to the pulse-beat of the day.

Our time is in the nature of an aftermath to great days that were, so long as the hundreds and thousands who are entering our land have not yet made their steps heard in the great march of building and creation. The beginnings once more are small in comparison with the Herculean dimensions of the tasks ahead of us. Most distressing too is the Babel that has been created here as we aspire to reach the heavens. But again, the poets must not flee from the challenge, must not retreat.

Recently, one of our young writers accused our literature of leanness; we are in a period of dearth and hunger. It is true; little that has been deeply satisfying has come out of these momentous years. (True, we are ravenous and critical, and besides, there is the infernal paper shortage.) Many poets are still in the grip of the heroic years and nostalgias, whilst the older writers are seeking the "eternal" whether by formalism or mysticism. But now and again, we hear a young voice carolling and calling us to see the world with clear eyes, while from his arm the wounded dove of peace flutters. Poetry and reality thus come to the ultimate point of fusion.

So, they will come yet, those singers, those children whose comrade was a youngster like Eldad Pann who said:

*Mother, do not wake me;*
*I am so tired!*

But should the State be announced while I slumber,

*Pull me out of bed!*

They will be the children who flew in on magic carpets, and the little boys and girls who were huddled away into shelters or were borne on the backs of lads to safety.

The State will yet be sung.

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# The Silver Salver

"A state is not handed a people on a silver salver"
CHAIM WEIZMANN

By NATHAN ALTERMAN

*AND the land will be peaceful. The sky's bleeding red*
*On still smouldering borders*
*Will fade out undefined.*
*And a nation will rise—heart-rent but not dead . . .*
*To inherit the miracle,*
*One of its kind.*

*They will face the crescent, all prepared for parade,*
*Filled with awe, clothed their best, thus assembled at dawn*
*— — From across will emerge then*
*A lad and a maid,*
*Striding gradually towards the nation new-born.*

*Clad in clothes that are common and heavily shod,*
*Both in silence will tread*
*Up the path, so attired,*
*With their packs still unloaded, nor washed yet the clots*
*Of the back-breaking day and the night under fire.*

*Thus ascetic of rest, wearied without end,*
*And dripping their youth as dew, — —*
*Now in silence the two*
*Will immovable stand,*
*With no telling if they be alive or shot through.*

*Then the nation will ask, bathed in tears and bewitched,*
*Thus inquires Who are you? Whilst the two quick and straight*
*Will reply: We are the silver plate upon which*
*You received at this hour the Jewish State.*

Translated by Dov Vardi

# Road to Jerusalem

*First Congress:*
1897 at Basle, 196 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Adoption of the Basle Programme; foundation of the World Zionist Organization; introduction of the Shekel.

*Second Congress:*
1898 at Basle, 349 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Establishment of the "Jewish Colonial Trust"; formation of an Association for the Dissemination of the Hebrew Language; declaration that the Zionist Organization would do nothing contrary to the tenets of the Jewish religion.

*Third Congress:*
1899 at Basle, 153 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Imposing upon the Jewish Colonial Trust the task of obtaining a Charter for Palestine; resolution to form a Central Committee for Zionist Propaganda.

*Fourth Congress:*
1900 at London, 498 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Instruction to the Inner Actions Committee to prepare the establishment of the Jewish National Fund; resolution to include in Zionist work the promotion of the economic welfare of Jewry in the Diaspora.

*Fifth Congress:*
1901 at Basle, 338 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Establishment of the Jewish National Fund; resolution recommending the formation of the "Anglo-Palestine Company"; resolution to include cultural activities into the frame-work of the Zionist Organization.

*Sixth Congress:*
1903 at Basle, 571 delegates. President: Theodor Herzl. Setting up of a committee to consider the British Government's Uganda project; election of a permanent committee to investigate conditions in Palestine and the possibilities of Jewish settlement.

*Seventh Congress:*
1905 at Basle, 497 delegates. President Max Nordau. Rejection of the Uganda project and of any other scheme involving settlement outside Palestine; extension of Zionist activities to include practical colonization and to found a National Library in Palestine.

*Eighth Congress:*
1907 at The Hague, 379 delegates. President: David Wolffsohn. Creation of a "Party-Fund" of the Zionist Organization; formation of a Palestine Department, attached to the Executive, and establishment of the Palestine Office, Jaffa; recognition of Hebrew as the official language of the Zionist Movement.

*Ninth Congress:*
1909 at Hamburg, 364 delegates. President: Max Nordau. Resolution to prepare the establishment of an institute for agricultural credit, resolution to set up workers' quarters in existing colonies in Palestine and to establish a cooperative settlement.

*Tenth Congress:*
1911 at Basle, 287 delegates. President Max Nordau. Resolution to organize and co-ordinate cultural activities in Palestine; to convene a conference for the purpose of organizing and regulating Jewish emigration; resolution to support the Palestine Land Development Company (P.L.D.C.).



**END OF THE ROAD.** *In August, 1949, the remains of Theodor Herzl were transferred to Jerusalem. The above picture shows Herzl's bier in the courtyard of the Jewish Agency before its final transfer to Har Herzl.*

*Eleventh Congress:*
1913 at Vienna, 539 delegates. President: David Wolffsohn. Resolution to found a Hebrew University in Jerusalem; approval of the settlement activities of the Zionist Organization in Palestine.

*Twelfth Congress:*
1921 at Carlsbad, 312 delegates. President: Nahum Sokolow. Vote of thanks to the English People for the Balfour Declaration, and to the Allied Powers for the San Remo decisions; declaration concerning an agreement with the Arab People; approval of the establishment of the Keren Hayesod; resolution for the immediate inception of settlement work in Emek Jezreel; resolution approving Zionist activity for the protection of Jewish national rights in the Diaspora.

*Thirteenth Congress:*
1923 at Carlsbad, 331 delegates. President: Nahum Sokolow. Resolution to enlarge the Jewish Agency for Palestine; to co-ordinate agricultural and manual training activities in the Diaspora, and concerning the inauguration of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

*Fourteenth Congress:*
1925 at Vienna, 311 delegates. President: Nahum Sokolow. Resolutions to co-ordinate existing campaigns for fund raising; resolution according to P.L.D.C. the control of future land purchases; introduction of a uniform Shekel for the World Zionist Organization.

*Fifteenth Congress:*
1927 at Basle, 281 delegates. President: Nahum Sokolow. Resolutions against land speculation in Palestine; for the consolidation of existing settlements, on unemployment and the organization of Jewish Labour.

*Sixteenth Congress:*
1929 at Zurich, 310 delegates. President: Nahum Sokolow. Establishment of the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine; resolutions welcoming the establishment of "Knesset Israel" and advocating the centralization of educational systems in Palestine.

*Seventeenth Congress:*
1931 at Basle, 254 delegates. President: Leo Motzkin. Declaration regarding the final aim of the Zionist Movement; resolution expressing the attitude of the Zionist Organization to the British Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann and the land development scheme of the Palestine Government; resolution placing on record the gratification of the Congress at the first contact established between settlers and the National Fund.

*Eighteenth Congress:*
1933 at Prague, 318 delegates. President: Leo Motzkin. Resolution to establish a Central Bureau for the settlement of German Jews and to organize Youth Aliya; placing of the educational system under the authority of the Knesset Israel in Palestine; resolution concerning discipline in the Zionist Organization; confirmation of the Jewish National Flag and Anthem.

*Nineteenth Congress:*
1935 at Lucerne, 463 delegates. President: Chaim Weizmann. Rejection of the British Government proposal to establish a Legislative Council for Palestine; resolution welcoming the consolidation of settlements established with the aid of the National Funds, the creation of new settlements and the establishment of the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association; resolution in favour of maritime activities.

*Twentieth Congress:*
1937 at Zurich, 484 delegates. President: Menahem Ussishkin. Resolution concerning the attitude of the Zionist Organization to the proposals of the Royal Commission regarding the establishment, in part of Palestine, of a Jewish State; resolutions on the establishment of new settlements and of a Zionist Youth centre attached to the Executive.

*Twenty-first Congress:*
1939 at Geneva, 527 delegates. President: Menahem Ussishkin. Condemnation of the British White Paper was the keynote of the Congress. The Budget for 1939/40 was fixed at £720,000, including £100,000 for the settlement of the refugees. Closing under the shadow of war, the Congress made it clear that the place of the Jewish people would be at the side of the Western democracies.

*Twenty-second Congress:*
1946 at Basle, 388 delegates. President: Chaim Weizmann. The Morrison Federation Plan was rejected and participation in the London Conference declined by a narrow majority. Weizmann: "National Home must become Jewish State." Ben Gurion: "We demand free immigration, free development, a Jewish State. We will meet again at the next Congress in liberated Zion." The budget for 1947 was fixed at £15.5m.

### THREE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN CONGRESS ZIONISM

# BATTLEFIELD OF JEWISH THOUGHT

By ROBERT WELTSCH

THE Zionist Congress in Jerusalem will have little in common with previous assemblies that bore this name. It may, or may not, inaugurate a third and totally different period of Congress Zionism.

The Zionist Congress, as Herzl created it, was no more than the general assembly of a world-wide movement, exercising jurisdiction over its own organization. It was not a "political" body in the strict sense of the world, though its aim was a political one. Its main object was the proclamation of ideas. The Congress was designed to draw the attention of the world to the "Jewish Problem" — at that time a neglected and disputed matter which a respectable man preferred not to mention in Western society. The main function of the Congress was specific: to analyse and explain the fundamental complexities of the Jewish position in the world, and to combat so-called "enlightened" opinion which asserted that the problem did not exist at all. Thus the Congress appealed to the world, and especially to the Jews, to understand the real situation whose consequences no one foresaw more clearly than Herzl himself.

This first period lasted roughly until the first world war, though even then the Congress had already begun to direct some practical colonizing work in Turkish Palestine. The second period started after world war I made far-reaching changes in the movement; for now not only was Palestine — and all of the Arabic-speaking orbis — detached from the Ottoman Empire, but a friendly world power which had assumed responsibility for Palestine had issued the Balfour Declaration which opened the road to political struggle and practical work, culminating in the establishment of the State of Israel.

### Emergency of Party System

The Congresses from 1921 (Karlsbad) to 1946 (Basle), were in the pattern of the Zionist Congress as it still lives in the memory of the older generation. These Congresses developed the Zionist party system as it is known today, and as it has been largely taken over by the Jewish State. Before 1914 there had been no Zionist parties in this sense. If Zionist Congresses had been forums for political discussion, now their interest shifted largely to the allocation, on party lines, of the budget provided by the national funds. The most dramatic feature of these Congresses, however, was the struggle between the movement and its leadership; the period covers, in effect, the personal drama of Dr. Weizmann, a drama which his autobiography reflects only in part.

After world war I, when romantic nationalism rose to a climax everywhere and also took hold of the Jewish camp, Dr Weizmann remained a realist. He saw clearly what limitations were imposed by hard facts, and he knew the international arena in which Zionism would have to stand the test. Palestine was not an empty space; there were no large natural resources awaiting exploitation; and the response of the Jewish people was very slow. Weizmann knew that there was not much time left. The Arab world was a rising force which the great powers could not disregard, and which would, by its hostility, impair Zionist progress. Russian Jewry had been cut off, and American Jewry was not prepared, at that time, to bear the huge financial responsibility for establishing the National Home.

### Weizmann's Leadership

American Jewry had not yet undergone the psychological revolution which gripped it after Hitler had come to power in 1933 and established a racial state in the midst of Europe. Before this Jewish catastrophe, and in face of the economic crisis of 1929, it was almost impossible to get from Jewish sources the means necessary for systematic large-scale colonization.

It was Dr. Weizmann's unenviable job to collect the money. His desperate attempt to win the support of all of American Jewry — not merely of the then none too influential Zionist Organization of America — earned him the hostility of the Congress which suspected an encroachment on its sovereignty. But it culminated in one of the most brilliant performances of this period, at the Zionist Congress at Zurich, in 1929, when the enlarged Jewish Agency was organized. Unfortunately, the subsequent riots of 1929, the economic crisis, and the untimely deaths of Louis Marshall, Lord Melchett, and others, practically thwarted the work of the new organization.

### Emotion and Reality

Dr. Weizmann knew very well all the weaknesses of the Zionist position, but he was exposed to steady pressure from the Congress parties. They not only wanted to allocate money which was not there, but tried to tie the hands of the Executive in political and financial matters without saying how their wishes could ever be fulfilled.

In the political sphere, Congress could easily indulge in relentless attacks against the mandatory government; thus Dr. Weizmann saw himself compelled to defend British policy more warmly than he would otherwise have done. He had to explain over and over that the Jews were only one party in the Palestine game, and that the British government — or any government, for that matter — could not completely ignore the inhabitants of the country. It was this point which led to the most heated controversies and finally even caused the temporary resignation of Dr. Weizmann (1931-1935). Except in 1931, these Congresses found themselves in a paradoxical situation. The Congress would vehemently oppose Dr. Weizmann's views and would not conceal its anger over the President's attitude, but in the end it had no choice but to re-elect the man who in fact was the only outstanding figure of international stature and the only man who could meet the statesmen of the world on their own level.

The "natural laws" of nationalism, which we have seen at work elsewhere during the last thirty years, applied also to the Zionist Congress. Zionism was fortunate enough to possess a leader who did not yield to the temptation to use the language of extremists in order to please his people. Unceasingly he taught his people the facts of the situation and appealed to their reason. The greatest legacy, perhaps, of these Congresses are Dr. Weizmann's speeches, remarkable documents of greatness and wisdom, not only from the Zionist but also from a human point of view.

### The Partition Issue

Sometimes the Congress seemed to ignore the true relations of power. It used language as if it were able to declare war on the British Empire at any moment. It drew up programmes which had no bearing on the actual financial situation. It seemed to move in a vacuum, concerned only with its internal problems and unrelated to the outside world. This practice was accentuated by the competition of parties for seats in the Executive and for as many other advantages as possible. At the same time, and to save their own consciences, party spokesmen inserted innumerable "declarations" and "reservations" which became a regular feature whenever a vote was taken.

The Congress even developed a language of its own which outsiders without any knowledge of the insiders' subtlety failed to understand. The most famous case in point is the Partition Resolution of Zurich, in 1937. There, a "yes" resolution to the British offer of partition and establishment of a Jewish state in a part of Palestine (according to the Peel Report) was carried by a 60 to 40 majority, but the actual text of this resolution contained a paragraph saying that "Congress declares the partition scheme unacceptable," and added in the next paragraph that the Executive should carry on negotiations with the British Government for the establishment of a Jewish state.

In Congress language, this meant that the partition scheme should be acceptable in principle, but it was perhaps too much to expect that other people should understand this text. Congress agreed to a formula which ostensibly aimed at a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, but it was clear that actually only partition provided any possibility for creating the State.

That the Congress knew this was proved by the defeat of the minority resolution which rejected partition altogether. A short time later, disappointment was great when the British Government dropped the partition scheme.

Confronted by the noisy elements of the Congress, Dr. Weizmann adhered consistently to his line. He made no concessions to extremists, nor did he indulge in the same ambiguities as did the Congress resolutions. He was always frank and saw no reason to sweeten the pill, which would only have resulted in recriminations later on and in accusations that he had gone back on his own pledges. He was a master in exposing political absurdities and he undertook only what he deemed feasible. It was for the Congress to "take it or leave it." In the last resort, Congress had to take it. But this process of bargaining often left bitter feelings on both sides. Every visitor of the ten inter-war Congresses knows that tensions of this kind made the atmosphere of the Congresses sometimes almost unbearable.

### Descent from Greatness

In this second period the Zionist Congress thus gradually surrendered its original role as the battlefield of ideas and as a revolutionary challenge to the Jewish world. Only rarely in the early twenties did it reach its old level; in 1921, for instance, when such men as Weizmann, Sokolow, Bialik, Shmarya Levin, Julius Simon, de Lieme, Ussishkin, Jabotinsky, Arlosoroff, and others argued about ideas and principles. Later on, the party system eliminated men of independent views. The misconception of democracy, which after the Russian Revolution had infected all of Europe, did not spare Zionist parliamentarism.

The Partition Congress at Zurich, in 1937, was the last "normal" Congress. Geneva, in 1939, a few days before the outbreak of the Second World War, cannot be regarded as normal; and when the next Congress assembled at Basle in 1946, such great changes had occurred within the Zionist world that the Congress, without being aware of it, had actually faded out. It merely provided a smoke-screen for another kind of Zionism which had arisen during the war on the soil of Palestine.

### The Voice of Israel

Congress Zionism had lost its power. Palestine with its new, indigenous, nationalist Jewish youth had become totally incommensurate with Diaspora Jewry. Since about 1940, Zionism had been replaced by so-called Activism. The Centre of action had shifted to Palestine. Dr. Weizmann himself had lost control over the new forces; but he fought a rear-guard action at Basle in 1946, when he made one of the greatest speeches of his career, a confession of faith in humanist Zionism. But although this Basle Congress still followed the old pattern, Congress Zionism had outlived its time. Palestine was in the clutches of political forces which could not wait for resolutions. History swept aside the last remnants of the old tradition.

### New Era Necessities

It is difficult to imagine what new form a Zionist Congress might assume in the future and how it could manage to arouse active interest in the Jewish world. Perhaps it could find a way to normalize the relations between Israel and Diaspora Jewry which urgently need some kind of authoritative definition. But if it accepts this challenge — which seems unlikely — many features of the former Congresses, including the party system, will have to be dropped and forgotten. A new era would begin.


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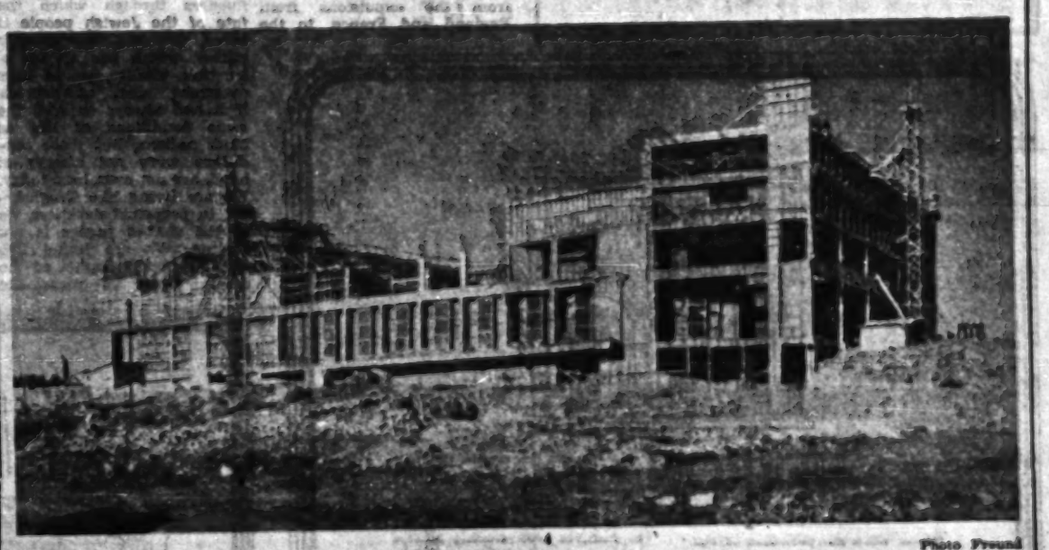



Photo Freund

The Jerusalem Convention Centre in construction.

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESSES THAT FIRED THE PIONEERS OF ZIONISM

# Sources of Freedom and National Survival



By Max Nordau

## At The First Congress

The special reporters for individual countries will depict for you the condition of their brethren in the different states. Some of their reports have been submitted to me; others not. But even of the countries about which I learnt nothing from my colleborators, I have, partly from personal observation, partly from other sources, obtained some knowledge, so that I may, without presumption, undertake the task of reporting on the general situation of the Jews at the end of the 19th century.

This picture can, on the whole, be painted only in one colour. Everywhere, where the Jews have settled in comparatively large numbers among the nations, Jewish misery prevails. It is not the ordinary misery which is probably the unalterable fate of mankind. It is a peculiar misery, which the Jews do not suffer as human beings, but as Jews, and from which they would be free, were they not Jews.

Jewish misery has two forms, the material and the moral. In Eastern Europe, North Africa, and Western Asia — those regions which shelter the vast majority, probably nine-tenths of our race — the misery of the Jews is understood literally. It is the daily distress of the body, anxiety for every following day, the painful fight for the maintenance of a bare existence. In Western Europe, the struggle for existence has been made somewhat lighter for the Jews, although of late the tendency has become visible even there to render it difficult for them again. The question of food and shelter, the question of the security of life, tortures them less; there the misery is moral.

The Western Jew has bread, but man does not live on bread alone. The life of the Western Jew is no longer endangered through the enmity of the mob; but bodily wounds are not the only wounds that cause pain, and from which one may bleed to death. The Western Jew meant emancipation to be real liberation, and hastened to draw the final conclusions therefrom. But the nations made him fear that he erred in being so heedlessly logical. The magnanimous laws magnanimously lay down the theory of equality of rights. But governments and Society exercise the practice of equality of rights in a manner which renders it the same mockery as did the appointment of Sancho Panza to the splendid position of Viceroy of the Island of Barataria. The Jew says naively: "I am a human being, and I regard nothing human as alien," the answer he meets is: "Softly, your rights as a man must be enjoyed cautiously; you lack the right notion of honour, feeling for duty, morality, patriotism, idealism. You must therefore hold aloof from all vocations which make possession of these qualifications as conditions."

### Invented Prejudice

No-one has ever tried to justify these terrible accusations by facts. At most, now and then, an individual Jew, the scum of his race and of mankind, is triumphantly cited as an example, and contrary to all laws of logic, the example is made general. This tendency is psychologically correct. It is the practice of human intellect to invent for the prejudices, which sentiment has called forth, a cause seemingly reasonable. Probably wisdom has long been acquainted with this psychological law, and puts it in fairly expressive words: "If you have to drown a dog" says the proverb, "you must first declare him to be mad." All kinds of vices are falsely attributed to the Jews, because one wishes to convince himself that he has a right to detest them. But the pre-existing sentiment is the detestation of the Jews.

I must utter the painful word. The nations which emancipated the Jews have mistaken their own feelings. In order to produce its full effect, emancipation should first have been completed in sentiment before it was declared by law. But this was not the case. The history of the Jewish emancipation is one of the most remarkable pages in the history of European thought. The emancipation of the Jews was not the consequence of the conviction that grave injury had been done to a race, that it had been treated most terribly, and that it was time to atone for the injustice of a thousand years; it was solely the result of the geometrical mode of thought of French rationalism of the 18th century... The emancipation of the Jews was an automatic application of the rationalistic method. The philosophy of Rousseau and the encyclopedists had led to the declaration of human rights. Out of this declaration, the strict logic of the men of the Great Revolution deduced Jewish emancipation. They formulated a regular equation: Every man is born with certain rights; the Jews are human beings, consequently the Jews are born to own the rights of man. In this manner, the emancipation of the Jews was pronounced, not through a fraternal feeling for the Jews, but because logic demanded it. Popular sentiment rebelled, but the philosophy of the Revolution decreed that principles must be placed higher than sentiment. Allow me then an expression which implies no ingratitude. The men of 1792 emancipated us only for the sake of principle.

### French Emancipation

As the French Revolution gave to the world the metric and decimal systems, so it also created a kind of normal spiritual system which other countries, either willingly or unwillingly, accepted as the normal measure for their state of culture. A country which claimed to be at the height of culture had to possess several institutions created or developed by the Great Revolution; as, for instance, representation of the people, freedom of the press, trial by Jury, division of powers, etc. Jewish emancipation was also one of these indispensable articles of a highly cultured state; just as a piano must not be absent from a drawing-room even if not a single member of the family can play it. In this manner Jews were emancipated in Europe not from an inner necessity, but in imitation of a political fashion; not because the people had decided from their hearts to stretch out a brotherly hand to the Jews, but because leading spirits had accepted a certain cultured idea which required that Jewish emancipation should figure also in the statute book.

## At The Second Congress

We are so old a body, that in our history, extending over thousands of years, everything has happened. Nothing new can occur to us. When Moses wished to free his people from Egyptian slavery the Jews were the first to rise against him, and threatened to denounce him to the Egyptian authorities. When Ezra and Nehemia returned to Zion, the rich, the cultured, the Heine-readers, and "tschalent" lovers of that day remained in Babylon. Even in the present day it will not be different. Let it be so. It may be that the Zionists are yet a minority of the Jews. But because of them Jewry will be rejuvenated, through them it will obtain new life, and be rescued at a future time.

## At The Third Congress

Among those who sit in judgment on Jewish history, past and present, and future, you will find disciples of the volcanic, as well as the glacial theory. The volcanists attach importance only to the periodical cruelties practised on the Jews. For them the history of the Jewish people is exhausted with the history of Jewish catastrophes. For them the history of the Jews extends from the destruction of the Temple to the massacre of the Crusades; from the expulsions from England and France, to the expulsions from Spain; from the slaughtering of Chemielnicky to the sanguinary Russian persecutions of the early eighties. The glacial theorists — and in that category I am reckoning myself — ascribe to the catastrophes, however terrible they were, not the same importance, and do not recognize them as the principal power in the formation of modern Jewish history. For us the ordinary conditions which surround us, evenly and permanently, are the influences through which the fate of the Jewish people is being formed... The Jewish nation, which has an indestructible vitality, would have overcome most catastrophes if it had always enjoyed the same conditions of life as other nations. But these conditions were not always at hand, are not even here today. We are living like Troglodytes, in perpetual darkness. To us the sun of justice is not shining. We are living like animals in the depths of the ocean. Upon us press the weight of a thousand atmospheres of mistrust and disdain. We have lived for centuries in a glacial period surrounded by the bitter cold of malice and hatred. These are the permanent powers which have permanently influenced us, without noise, without incident, to give rise to sensational reports, yet under which we have retrograded steadily, gradually, and unmistakably.

People die by the murderous steel or at the stake, but who perishes with cold is also dead... To deliver the Jewish Nation from this lasting, evenly crushing pressure is the duty which Zionism has taken upon itself.

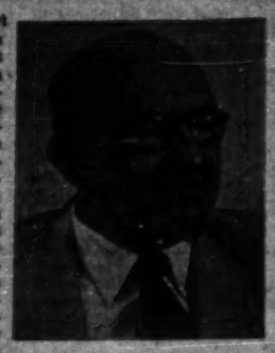
In the Jewish question, besides the fundamental principles of civilization, secondary tendencies are involved which, at the present moment, are influencing international diplomacy. Every people today demands the "open door" for its commerce. Each regards it as its natural right to draw backward nations into the sphere of modern economic life, to colonize unpeopled territories, and to adjust excessive inequalities of population by emigration on a proper scale.

We desire to remove to thinly-populated Palestine, millions of industrious settlers, who can prosper only there and nowhere else. We desire to bring the fallow soil, which was once Jewish, under the plough; to increase its value; to convert it into an area of active commerce, flourishing civilization, and model organization, to the advantage of the Turkish Government, the Jewish people and the whole of mankind. And such aspirations are not to receive the approval and assistance of all the Powers! I cannot believe that in the Hague of the Peace Conference. I have no doubt that we shall succeed in convincing the governments of the greatness and fruitfulness of our undertaking, and that we shall live to see the convening of a diplomatic conference on the lines of The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 to arrive at an international settlement of the Jewish question.

Such great developments presuppose, however that we first induce the Jewish people clearly to recognize its position and impress upon every Jew who does not wish for the disappearance of his people the conviction that its continuance can be assured only by one means, and that is Zionism. May the Eighth Zionist Congress bring us nearer to this great end.

HERZL'S MANDATE OF THE JEWISH MASSES

# Missed the First Congress



By Chaim Weizmann
FIRST PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL

MOST profound in its effect on the movement was Herzl's creation of the Zionist Congress. Having failed with the Jewish notables and philanthropists, he turned to the Jewish masses. He made contact with the leaders of the Chibath Zion. David Wolffsohn, who was to be his successor, came to him. The call for the 2nd demonstration went out in 1897. It was not to be another Kattowitz Conference, a semi-furtive, internal Jewish affair. It was to be a public declaration, an address to the world, a Manifesto of flesh and blood, the Jewish people itself reasserting its existence and confronting humanity with its historic demands.

That was how we felt about it, and that was what suddenly jolted us out of our old routine, and out of our day-dreams. We resolved, in the spring of 1897, to devote the summer vacation to the propagation of the idea of the Congress. I myself was busy for months in the dim marshlands, persuading the communities to elect their delegates; I also received a mandate to the Congress from the community of Pinsk, a mandate which, I remember with warm gratitude, was renewed for every Zionist Congress that followed; other Zionists of Pinsk had to stand for election; about mine there was never any doubt. Three men who were particularly active among the Russian communities were Ossip Buchmiller, Boris Katzman and Moshe Margulis Kalvarisky. All three were taking the agricultural course at Montpellier, and all three settled in Palestine later. For them, and for many others, the Congress was a far greater inspiration than the contents of the *Judenstaat*; and the truth is that Herzl's contribution to Zionism, apart from his personal example, was that of form. Conviction, devotion, persistence, tradition—all these things we had in ample measure. But we had no experience in parliamentary organization and action. It was here that Herzl shone, both by natural aptitude and by years of training as the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris.

In spite of my mandate from the Zionists of Pink I failed to attend the first Zionist Congress. I have always regretted it, not because it mattered much in the total, but because it is a gap in the record. That particular year things were not going well at home and I was painfully aware of the call that my education was making on the family resources. It happened that toward the end of my fourth term at Berlin I had made a little discovery in dyestuff chemistry, and my professor, von Knorre—he was another teacher whom I remember with special gratitude—thought I might be able to sell it. He recommended me to a friend of his, one Ilyinsky, the manager of a dyeing plant in Moscow. The prospect of making some money, and relieving the strain on my father's budget, was a tempting one. But when I returned home for the summer vacation I threw myself into Zionist work, and kept putting off the visit to Moscow; and I did not accept Ilyinsky's invitation until the late summer.

### Travel Restricted

Going to Moscow was not a simple business. I had no right to travel outside the Pale without a special permit, which I could not get. In Moscow I would not be able to register at an hotel; and anyone who put me up privately without reporting me to the police would himself be liable to arrest. So I had to make my arrangements carefully in advance. I found it necessary to stay in Moscow two days. The first night I slept at Ilyinsky's place, the second at Naiditch's. Naiditch had left Pinsk, and was already established as a sucessful merchant in Moscow, though he still continued, rather furtively, to contribute poetry to the Hebrew journals. I did not sell my chemical discovery; but for other reasons my stay in Moscow was rather a hateful experience. I loathed the necessity of dodging the police, and my loathing was transferred to the place. I did not see Moscow—I only caught a glimpse of the Kremlin from a distance—and I fled as soon as my business was transacted. Years later I sold the formula to a firm in Paris, while I was on a visit to the Zionist students of the Sorbonne. I remember that it brought me about six thousand francs, an enormous sum for me in those days.

The extra days in Moscow made me late for the Congress. But I rushed from Moscow to Brest Litovsk, where my father was waiting for me. He had brought along my renewed foreign passport—and ten rubles. That was all he could give me toward the expenses of my trip to Basle. I could have managed somehow, but I could not take the money from him. My business for the Congress, my appointment in Manchester, and my father's financial condition, all took the heart out of me. I had the doleful satisfaction of learning, when I returned to Berlin in the fall, that I had been missed at the Congress. Delegates from the communities I had visited and students from various universities had asked after me. My work in the movement was beginning to be known.

However, I did attend the second Zionist Congress, in Basle, a year later. My part in the deliberations was quite insignificant, but I followed the proceedings with profound respect—though I did not fail to make some mental reservations as to some of the methods and part of the machinery of the Congress. It was for me a time of undiluted joy and spiritual happiness; in these surroundings I felt at home, I felt welcome, and I felt myself to be needed. The people were congenial, and many of the older delegates were already experienced veterans in the movement. The inspiration generated at the Congress served as a powerful impetus for our work. We carried the message back to every corner of our vast ghetto, bringing a little light into the drab life of the Jewish communities.

The Zionist Congresses, at first annual and then biennial, became the tribune and the focus of the movement. The absorption of the old Zionist movement into the new, the story of the transfer of power, cannot be given here in detail; but it was Herzl's enduring contribution to Zionism to have created one central, parliamentary authority for Zionism...

Reprinted from the chapter "The Coming of Herzl" in "Trial and Error," the Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York).

# Only Three Original Delegates In Israel

By N. M. GELBER

IN 1947, when the 50th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress was celebrated, 15 of its delegates were still alive. Today, only seven are left. Three of the survivors, Dr. Mayer Ebner, Professor Joseph Klausner, and Dr. Isidor Schalit, are living in Israel, the four others abroad.

### Mayer Ebner

Born on September 18, 1872 in Czernowitz, Bukowina, Ebner as a law student joined the Jewish National Movement which in those days, under the leadership of Dr. Nathan Birnbaum, began to attract the young Jewish generation of Austria. Together with his friends, he founded in 1891 the students union "Hasmonea," on the model of "Kadimah" in Vienna. At the first Congress, he reported on the situation in Bukowina and was elected to the Action Committee as representative of his home province. In numerous articles in Herzl's "Die Welt," he advocated Zionist activism ("Gegenwartsarbeit") and national representation of Jews in countries where this was warranted by their numbers.

Together with Dr. Leon Kellner, one of Herzl's closest collaborators and professor at the University of Czernowitz, Dr. Ebner promoted from 1910 onwards various political and cultural organizations. During the first world war, the Russians deported him to Siberia from where he returned in 1917. He resumed his political activities in the following year as president of the Jewish National Council, after Bukowina had been incorporated in Rumania. From 1926 to 1936 he was a Member of Parliament, until 1932 as a Senator, and as chairman of the Jewish Parliamentary Club he took a prominent part in the defence of Jewish minority rights. In 1938, at the famous trial at Berne of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," Ebner was one of the principal witnesses.

Dr. Ebner took part in the first three Congresses, and in all Congresses held after the first world war, and is a member of the Greater Zionist Council. In 1940 he settled in Israel.

### Joseph Klausner

One of the most familiar figures of Jerusalem, Professor Dr. Joseph Klausner was born in 1874 (on the 1st of Elul) in Olkieniki, in the then Government of Vilna. On completion of his traditional education, he studied history and philosophy at the University of Heidelberg where he graduated in 1902. At the age of 19, he published in "Hamelitz" his first essay on modern Hebrew, a subject to which he remained faithful all his life, as innovator and, for many years, as president of the Hebrew Language Committee.

When "Hashiloah," the famous Hebrew monthly, began to appear under the editorship of Ahad Ha'am, Klausner became one of his regular contributors, and later—at the age of 29 — its editor. A worker of prodigious industry, Klausner wrote hundreds of articles and essays: literary, historical, and political. The six volumes of his History of Modern Hebrew Literature have become a standard work. His other greater publications include: "Creators and Builders" (3 volumes), "History of Israel" (4 volumes), "Jesus the Nazarene" (translated into English, French, Polish, Italian, German, etc.), "From Jesus to Paulus," "The Second Temple" (5 volumes), and "The Messianic Idea in Israel."

In 1907, Klausner was appointed lecturer at the modern "Yeshiva" and subsequently at the University of Odessa where he taught until 1917. In 1919 he settled in Jerusalem where he became first a lecturer at the Teachers' Seminary and, in 1928, professor at the Hebrew University. Since 1945 he held the the chair of the period of the Second Temple which was established in his name. After his retirement from his academic duties, he became chief editor of the new Hebrew Encyclopedia.

One of the founders of the democratic "Frakzia," he was a member of the Odessa Committee of the "Hovevei Zion" from 1909 to 1918.

As active as ever, Klausner takes a leading part in many cultural institutions of the country.

### Isidor Schalit

Born in 1871, Dr. Isidor Schalit joined in 1890 the Zionist adversaries Student's Union "Kadimah" in Vienna. Under his influence, Kadimah became a "fighting" corporation in 1893, and the skill of its members with rapier and sabre won them soon the respect of their anti-semitic adversaires at the University. But Schalit was equally successful in his propaganda for the new national movement among the younger generation and the intelligentsia.

After the publication of the "Judenstaat," Dr. Schalit became a close associate and later on the secretary of Herzl. He was one of the organizers of the first Congress, and from 1897 to 1904 was prominent in the conduct of affairs at the centre of the movement. At one time, he founded a students' organization aiming at a Garibaldi-like march to Eretz-Israel, but political considerations made them abandon their fantastic project. During one of the Balkan wars, he organized a medical unit to assist Turkey.

After Herzl's death, when the Zionist Office was transferred to Cologne, Schalit was elected President of the Zionist Organization of Austria, and in his new capacity he led the campaign for national rights of the Jews, in cooperation with the leaders of other national minorities. After the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, he organized a Jewish Defence Corps of some 3,000 soldiers. He continued his Zionist activities in Austria until 1938 when he settled in Eretz-Israel.

To Dr. Schalit fell the honour together with the late David Remez, Minister of Communications, to escort Herzl's remains from Vienna to Mount Herzl in Jerusalem.


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Incorporated in England in 1902 by the Zionist Movement, the Bank opened its first office in Jaffa in 1903. During almost half a century it has actively fostered commerce, industry, agriculture, and every sound economic activity. It has for many years served as banker to the Zionist institutions. Prominent Zionist leaders, such as D. Wolfsohn, J. Krusenetsky, J. Kann and M. M. Usishkin served on its Board of Directors.

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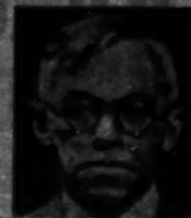
# Planners and Builders: Profiles from a National Gallery



**JACOBUS H. KANN** b. 1872, Hague d. 1945, Theresienstadt. Banker and leading Zionist in Holland, a contemporary and helper of Herzl in the Zionist Organization's financial institutions. A banker, aristocrat and lover of his people. Perished with his wife in Theresienstadt. His daughter, resident of Mt. Carmel, carries on the family tradition.



**Dr. LEON PINSKER** b. 1821, Tomaszow (Pol.) d. 1891, Odessa. Pre-Zionist Organisation thinker whose "Auto-Emancipation" is the forerunner of Herzl's own "Judenstaat." His remains were brought to Jerusalem in 1934, and deposited in the Nicanor Cave on Mt. Scopus, where Menahem Ussishkin's body also rests.



**VLAD. JABOTINSKY** b. 1880, Odessa d. 1940, New York. Militant and irredentist Zionist, founder of the Revisionist movement and of "Betar." Trenchant writer and gifted translator; outstanding linguist. Stormy petrel in the Zionist Movement, he was worshipped by tens of thousands moved by his iron will and passionate pleading.



**Dr. Y. TSCHLENOW** b. 1863, Kremenchuk d. 1918, London. Outstanding Russian Zionist, member of the "Small Executive." Came to Britain for the negotiations leading to Balfour Declaration.



**Dr. A. MARMOREK** b. 1865, Miezince (Gal.) d. 1923, Paris. A Paris physician who joined Nordau when Nordau joined Herzl. On the inner councils of the Movement from the very start.

*This choice of past Zionists and forerunners of Zionism is but a cross-section of the men and women who shaped the Movement.*



**L. MOTZKIN** b. 1867, Bovary (Russ.) d. 1933, Paris. Early Russian Zionist, Russian Jew who made Berlin his home. President of Zionist Actions Committee from 1927 to the end of his days; Chairman of Zionist Congresses, and indomitable fighter for Jewish rights through the Jewish Congress, at the Peace Conference after World War I.



**DAVID WOLFFSOHN** b. 1856, Darbiany (Lith.) d. 1914, Homburg (Ger.) Russian Jew who settled in Cologne; was Herzl's devoted follower, and successor to the presidency of the Zionist Organisation. Haskala type of traditional Jew whose life was dedicated to Zionism. He was "Lieber Dada" to Herzl, and guardian of his children.



**A. D. GORDON** b. 1856, Troiano (Russ.) d. 1922, Degania. Zionist Labour philosopher and "Saint," responsible for concept of "Religion of Labour." His name given to a Labour youth movement whose alumni include Pinhas Lavon (Lubianiker), Minister of Supply.



**MOSES HESS** b. 1812, Bonn d. 1875, Paris. Early Zionist visionary, author of "Rome and Jerusalem."



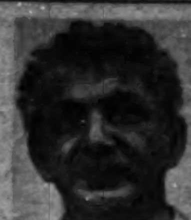
**COL. A. E. GOLDSMID** b. 1846, Bombay d. 1904, Paris. Early leader of Hovevei Zion in England.



**Prof. O. WARBURG** b. 1859, Hamburg d. 1938, Berlin. President of the Zionist World Organisation from 1911-1920.



**PINHAS RUTENBERG** b. 1879, Romny (Russ.) d. 1942, Jerusalem. Russian revolutionary, Governor of Odessa under Kerensky in the middle of World War I. Took a leaf out of Mazzini for the resurrection of the Jewish people. In the U.S. helped to organize the Jewish Congress and the Jewish Legion. Author of the famous hydro-electric scheme for which he obtained a concession from the British. For some time head of the Vaad Leumi. The house he built on the Carmel he left to be a permanent centre for youth training.



**BERL KATZENELSON** b. 1878, Bobruisk (Russ.) d. 1944, Jerusalem. Pathfinder and behind-the-scenes leader of Labour Zionism. Began in Palestine as an agricultural worker to become the adored core of the coterie that shaped the Histadrut and Mapai. Teacher and friend of the younger Mapai ranks. Founder and Editor of "Davar," the Histadrut daily. His writings and speeches make up a dozen volumes. His literary legacy is among the classics of the Labour Zionist Movement.



**Dr. A. RUPPIN** b. 1876, Rawitsch (Germ.) d. 1943, Jerusalem. One of the earliest Zionists in Germany and first representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine; head of the Palestine Office; noted economist and sociologist. Steadfast supporter of agricultural co-operative colonisation. Author of standard works on Sociology of the Jews and on Colonisation. Settlements and institutions in his memory bear his name, among them the Agricultural Graduate School near Kfar Monash.



**MENAHEM USSISHKIN** b. 1863, Dobrovna (Russ.) d. 1941, Jerusalem. Pre-Herzlian leader of Russian Zionism. Spearheaded fight against Uganda project. Head of first Zionist Commission; later, and until the end of his life, head of the Keren Kayemet Leyisrael which, under his dynamic drive, became the Zionist Organization's great arm for the redemption of Palestine's soil. President of a series of Zionist Congresses. His tomb is on Mt. Scopus, near that of Leon Pinsker in the Cave of Nicanor.



**NAHUM SOKOLOW** b. 1861, Vishogrod (Pol.) d. 1936, London. Scholar, publicist, statesman and Zionist ambassador at large. Number Two in the Zionist Movement from the day Weizmann ascended to the Presidency. Revered throughout the Jewish world as editor of a series of Hebrew newspapers issued from Warsaw and which penetrated wherever there were Hebrew reading Jews. Presided at several Zionist Congresses with a geniality that gained him the unstinted affection of followers and antagonists alike.



**LOUIS BRANDEIS** b. 1856, Louisville (USA) d. 1941, Boston. Great American jurist who, in 1915, took on the leadership of Zionism in America which, in World War I, became the centre of World Zionism and the link with England of the Balfour Declaration. His devotion to Palestine was undimmed when his elevation to the U.S. Supreme Court compelled public withdrawal from the hurly-burly of Zionist politics. His legacy is the American Zionists' social programme for Palestine adopted at the Pittsburgh Convention in 1918. A great part of his personal fortune serves as an endowment of several Hadassah institutions in Jerusalem. As the central figure of the Brandeis - Mack - Wise group in American Zionism, he was the inspirer of the Palestine Economic Corporation.

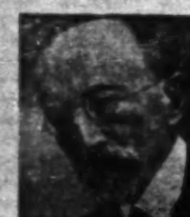


**BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD** b. 1845, Boulogne-sur-Seine; d. 1934, Paris. Prince of Jewish benefactors, philanthropist of wide vision, he was the first, and for many years the only one among the Jewish "Brahmins" who saw Palestine as the end of the Jewish road. Worked independently of the Zionist Organisation, first through the ICA with its world-wide ramifications. After the British Mandate, ICA became PICA, and Baron Edmond de Rothschild, ever at the call of Weizmann and Sokolow, became a helper of the Jewish Agency. His name and that of his wife are perpetuated in numerous settlements and institutions in Israel. His son, James de Rothschild in London, lives and works in the tradition of his illustrious father. The name and image of "The Baron," with those of Baron de Hirsch and Sir Moses Montefiore, illuminated the darkest corners of Jewish settlement in Czarist Russia.



**ELIEZ. BEN YEHUDA** b. 1858, Lushki (Pol.) d. 1922, Jerusalem. Philologist and lexicographer who made Hebrew a living language once more. In his household in Jerusalem more than 70 years ago, no other language was tolerated. His monumental dictionary is only now being completed, nearly 30 years after his death. Volume 14, dedicated to President Truman, came out in recent weeks and belongs to the series promoted by his widow, the redoubtable Hemda Ben Yehuda.

**Dr. MAX NORDAU** b. 1849, Budapest d. 1923, Paris. His greatness was in his fiery courage. His speeches at the early Congresses, reviewing the position of his people, are searing indictments of the world, without sparing those he defended. A Herzlian to the last, as he was among the first, he died with the imperative demand for mass immigration to Palestine on his lips.



**AHAD HA'AM** b. 1856, Skvira (Ukr.) d. 1927, Tel Aviv. Zionist philosopher whose works in Hebrew, translated into most European languages, are the texts for students of the Zionist way. A writer whose lucidity outshone the laboured flamboyancy of the Haskala writers, Ahad Ha'am was incisive and merciless in analysis. Somewhat mistakenly, he is described as the founder of "Spiritual Zionism," but it is doubtful whether his own disciplined mind would have accepted such an easy way out of the stern realities that are Zionism. Bialik regarded him as his teacher, as did that other Nestor of the Zionist Movement, Shmaryahu Levin.

**Prof. H. SCHAPIRA** b. 1840, Erzhvilki (Lith.) d. 1898, Cologne. Mathematician; one of the first Hovevei Zion in Germany. Took part in First Zionist Congress. Initiator of Keren Kayemet Leisrael.



**SHMARYAHU LEWIN** Born 1869 d. 1935, Haifa. "Childhood in Exile," "Youth in Revolt," and "The Arena" are milestones in the life of one of the most beloved figures in the Zionist Movement. An orator who combined ardour with wit, he had inexpressible charm, which in many cases turned foes of Zionism into devoted friends. Of the school of Ahad Ha'am and Bialik and an intimate of Dr. Weizmann, by whom he is missed in the way his other two contemporaries are missed.



**HENRIETTA SZOLD** b. 1860, Baltimore (USA) d. 1945, Jerusalem. Daughter of orthodox rabbi in Baltimore, Maryland, first woman to be elected to the Zionist Executive, best remembered as creator of Hadassah. She brought two generations of women to the Zionist fold, and was respected no less by the men of her time. She was a woman of vision and of letters. Youth Aliya is her living monument.



**MEIR DIZENGOFF** b. 1861, Akimovtzi (Russ.) d. 1936, Tel Aviv. Builder and Mayor of Tel Aviv. Man of unquenchable Zionist faith, followed by the middle class and often deferred to by all others. His own house is today Tel Aviv's Museum; one of the City's principal streets is his monument, and one of Tel Aviv's attractive parks a monument to his wife and lifelong helpmate. Builder of a considerable shipping business, his only true interest was the Jewish National Home and his heart in Tel Aviv.



**Dr. H. ARLOSOROFF** b. 1899, Romny (Russ.) d. 1933, Tel Aviv. A Zionist meteor whose assassination at the age of 34 was likened by the late Berl Katznelson to the Herzl Tree at Motza cut down by the Turks in the First World War. The writings of the Zionist Socialist are the record of a spacious mind and an exact and vigorous formulator. As a negotiator he was almost unequalled. An orator who carried conviction, he swayed the Zionist Congress at which he was elected to the Executive. He was killed on his return to Tel Aviv from a mission to Hitler Germany, the country where this Romny-born boy had been raised.



**RABBI KOOK** b. 1865, Grieva (Latvia) d. 1935, Jerusalem. Saintly scholar; philosopher and theologian, foremost among orthodox rabbis to embrace Zionism as essence of the return to land and Torah. Valiant yet tolerant synthesizer between the Torah and Zionism's ultimate aim. Profound and prolific writer. First Chief Rabbi under Mandate. A famous publishing house established in his memory and bearing his name, sponsored by the Jewish Agency, is devoted to enduring studies in theology and rabbinics.



**ORDE C. WINGATE** b. 1903 d. 1944, Burma. A British Christian who made the Jewish cause his own. A brilliant soldier who was later to organise and lead the Chindits in Burma, he first organised, drilled and led the Night Squads in Palestine against Arab saboteurs in the 1936/-39 "disturbances." His last letter from Burma to his wife reads, in part: "Finally, I am feeling very much at the moment 'im eshkahem Yerushalayim tishkah yemini,' and do you pray that our lot takes us together to the place and the work we love.... Tell my mother I am well and happy and hope not wholly useless or harmful."

# REGENERATING ZIONISM

(Continued from Page 1.)

The coming Zionist Congress will be the first after the establishment of the State; it meets in the light of the categorical necessity for the maintenance of the Zionist Movement and the continued existence of Herzl's creation; the Zionist Organization. A number of urgent problems will have to be solved by the 23rd Zionist Congress. There is the question of the provision by the people of the financial means for the building of the country, and there are questions connected with the organization of the Zionist institutions and the leadership of the movement.

One of the principal problems will be the definition and safeguarding of the tasks of the organization in the practical work of building the country, especialy the arrangements for immigration and agricultural settlement. A central place may be occupied by the important problem which has been thoroughly discussed within the movement, which is expressed in the two words "sovereignty" and "interference." It is clear at the outset that anyone who does not admit the sovereignty of the State in its internal and external affairs is not a Zionist at all. If we have been privileged to witness the fulfilment of the desire of all ages—the desire expressd in the words: "Restore our judges as at first and our advisers as in the beginning"—we must leave the people of Zion to choose their own "judges and advisers," who must be responsible to them in all things.

This is clear beyond a doubt, but besides the terms "sovereignty" and "interference," there is the term "taking an interest," taking an interest not out of curiosity but out of a feeling of belonging. The Zionist Organization, which has brought about the establishment of the State and which must continue to work for the welfare of the State, is an interested partner in the life of the State and all its affairs. Such a partner must be dealt with in proportion to the importance of his partnership. The enthusiasm of the partner in doing his duty and carrying out his functions depends on the measure in which his interest finds satisfaction.

## Forms and Functions

It is possible that by accepting the demand for a definite legal status for the Zionist Organization vis-a-vis the State, the interest of the partner will receive some satisfaction. The Shekel-holders in Israel take part in the elections to the Congress and the Executive of the Zionist Organization. The Shekel-holders of the Diaspora, on the other hand, have not and cannot enjoy the status of the electors to the Knesset which determines the leadership of the State. It is advisable to consider another form of liaison between the Executive of the Zionist Organization and the State by adding an extra member to the Government of Israel who would represent the Zionist Organization and be in charge of the affairs of the Diaspora and the Zionist Movement.

The problems which have accumulated in the period before the Congress have recently caused vigorous and sharp controversy between the personalities of the Movement. These matters are complicated by differences in approach and party allegiance. The nature of the problems which the Congress must solve requires a simple approach from the popular Jewish point of view: "whether it is good for the Jews"—whether it is good and useful for the work of Zionism and the affairs of the State at this hour. Imaginary ideologies should disappear; the new era in Zionism—the renascence of the State of Israel—should close all the old accounts and open a new account in the affairs of the nation. From the point of view of the actual character of these affairs, such an approach is possible, and everyone should be interested in seeing a good spirit reigning at the Congress. Let us hope that the exalted spot on Mt. Herzl will breathe a new spirit into the first Zionist Congress in Jerusalem.

## A New Approach

But this new spirit, which should regenerate the Zionist Movement, will not come about as the result of various arrangements, or the attainment of peaceful internal relations, or the determination of the tasks and authority of the State and the Zionist Organization respectively. The Zionist Congress meets in the light of the axiom that the Zionist Organization must continue to exist even after the aim of establishing the State has been achieved, but this continued existence is clouded over by severe crisis. The existence of Zionism implies the existence of a movement. The existence of a movement depends on the existence of a "subject" which lives according to its principles, which is enthusiastically concerned for its progress and devotes itself with dynamic pioneering zeal to its realization. Such a "subject" existed and carried forward the movement by its own powers, bringing about the great realization of Zionism in our generation. Such a "subject" existed in the past, but it exists no longer in the Diaspora. We must face this fact.

Who will maintain and continue the existence of Zionism in the future? What we have today in the movement is the result of the past; it can be ascribed to what is left of the human material and the great public activity of the past. The needs of the States and the Ingathering of the Exiles arouse the movement to activity from time to time. But forces impelling personal realization do not exist and are not being produced at the present time.

The elimination of the root of the crisis and the regeneration of the active force of Zionism is the mission of the 23rd Congress, that is its purpose and its distinctive value.

From now onwards the best forces of Zonism and its leaders will see in this their honour and their mission—the renewal of the historic mission of Herzl for the conquest of the people and the education of the people for Zion.

Let this activity be placed at the head of the agenda of the Zionist Congress and form the main content of its work. Let the 23rd Zionist Congress be the Congress of the Regeneration of Zionism.


## The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA)

(Edmond de Rothschild Foundation)



*Inauguration of Sdeh Eliezer, the latest PICA settlement, near Yessod Hamaaleh (Upper Galilee)—July 17, 1951. Named after the late Baron Robert (Eliezer) de Rothschild*

PICA, a non-profit making Association, was founded in 1924 to manage and continue the colonization and development work of the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Father of the Yishuv. The settlements, founded or assisted by PICA, number 46, covering about 500,000 dunams and having a population of some 50,000.

Apart from colonization, PICA's work is directed to urban development (e.g. Zichron Yaacov, Pardess Hanna, etc.), afforestation, agricultural experiments, soil amelioration and industrial development. PICA's industrial interests include holdings in the Palestine Electric Corporation, Fertilizers & Chemicals Ltd., Grands Moulins de Palestine Ltd., Palestine Brewery Ltd., Palestine Salt Co. Ltd. and several other enterprises.

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# FROM 22nd CONGRESS

*The following is a summary of the chapter on political developments in the Report of the Zionist Organisation to the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem.*

THE seventeen months from the Twenty-Second Zionist Congress to the Proclamation of the State of Israel are the most dramatic period in the political history of the Jews since the destruction of the Second Commonwealth. They witnessed the climax of the bold effort begun by Theodor Herzl and his small band of followers fifty years earlier.

When the last Zionist Congress met, the regime of the Palestine White Paper of 1939 was still in full force. Jewish immigration was limited to a trickle. All efforts to secure the admission of the survivors of the Nazi slaughter in Europe had proved fruitless. Those who succeeded in reaching Palestine by their own efforts were arrested upon their arrival and detained for an indefinite period. In August 1946 the Mandatory Government had ordered the forcible transfer of these refugees to Cyprus where a vast concentration camp had been set up. Each new expulsion aroused bitter resentment and was followed by acts of resistance, which in their turn led to more repressive measures on the part of the authorities. In the summer of 1946 the Government had gone to the length of arresting the leaders of the Yishuv and of occupying and searching the offices of the Jewish Agency.

It was against this tragic background that the Twenty-second Congress convened—the last, as events were to prove, to be held in exile. Its composition was marked by a sombre gap. The representatives of Central and Eastern European Jewry, who had dominated the Assembly since the early days of the movement, were no longer present. In their place appeared a small group of spokesmen of the Jewish "Displaced Persons" rotting away in the areas of the dread concentration camps.

The political resolutions adopted by the Congress reflected the new outlook of the Movement. The Congress declared that "Jewish statehood is the only form in which the original purpose of the Mandate for Palestine can be fulfilled in the event of the Mandate's termination." It recorded its opposition to any new trusteeship over Palestine "by which the establishment of the Jewish State would be prevented or postponed." It appealed to the United Nations and to all its member states "to support the Jewish people in its claim for statehood in Palestine and a place in the family of nations."



BEVIN

As for the proposed London Conference, the Congress resolved "that in the existing circumstances the Zionist movement cannot take part in the Conference. If a change should take place in the situation, the General Council of the Zionist Organization should reconsider the matter and decide whether the Executive is to participate in the Conference. If a change should take place in the situation, the General Council of the Zionist Organization should reconsider the matter and decide whether the Executive is to participate in the Conference or not." This was not an outright refusal to negotiate, but it clearly conveyed that the next step lay with the Government.

## Bevin's Five-Year Plan

Pursuant to the resolution of the 22nd Congress, the Executive of the Jewish Agency did not take part in the Palestine Conference which met in London with British and Arab participation during January and February 1947. Informal talks, however, were concurrently held between members of the British Government and members of the Executive. In the course of these discussions it became clear that, so far from being ready to concede the Jewish claims, the Foreign Office had retreated from even such limited concessions as had been embodied in the so-called Grady-Morrison scheme of July 1946. Towards the end of the London talks, the British Government communicated to the Jewish Agency the proposals submitted by the British delegation to the Palestine Conference on February 7, 1947, which subsequently became known as the Bevin Plan.

Under the new scheme, the British Government was to be invested with a five-year trusteeship over Palestine, with the declared object of preparing the country for independence. The High Commissioner would continue to exercise supreme legislative and executive authority. Areas of local administration would be set up to include in each case a substantial majority either of Arabs or of Jews. To these local Administrations certain legislative, administrative and financial powers, including some share in responsibility for the police, would be devolved. As the boundaries between the administrative units would not be state frontiers, the Arab and Jewish areas need not be contiguous. The High Commissioner would have an Advisory Council consisting of representatives of the Arab and Jewish Local Administrations, of labour and other organized interests. The Jewish Agency would be superseded by the Jewish members of the Advisory Council who would henceforth be the official channel of communication between the Jewish community and the High Commissioner. Palestinians would be introduced into the High Commissioner's Executive Council, and their proportion in relation to the British members would be progressively increased. In the local areas there would be safeguards for the protection of minorities.

As regards immigration, the Bevin Plan provided for the admission of 4,000 Jews monthly for a period of two years. During the remainder of the trusteeship period, the question whether there should be Jewish immigration at all, and if so at what rate, would be determined by the High Commissioner in consultation with his Advisory Council having due regard to the principle of economic absorptive capacity. In the event of disagreement, the final decision would rest with an Arbitration Tribunal to be appointed by the United Nations. The control of land transfers would be conferred on the Local Administrations. At the end of four years, a Constituent Assembly would be elected. If agreement was reached between a majority of the Jews and a majority of the Arabs in the Assembly, the High Commissioner would take the necessary steps to establish the institutions of the proposed independent state. If there was no such agreement, the matter would be referred to the Trusteeship Council, which would be asked to advise on future procedure.

The Jewish Agency communicated its reply to the Bevin Plan in a memorandum dated February 13 1947, which contained a critical analysis of the plan and the Jewish Agency's alternative proposals. It stated from the outset:

There are three vital interests which the Executive of the Jewish Agency seeks to preserve in any settlement that may be devised for the solution of the Palestine problem. These are:

## Jewish Agency Proposals

A. Freedom of Jewish immigration into Palestine up to the country's economic absorptive capacity.

B. Freedom to settle on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes, and to develop the country's potentialities.

C. Freedom to develop the Jewish National Home to the position of a self-governing independent Jewish State.

The Agency made its own proposals for a way out of the deadlock. The Memorandum concluded:

(a) That, in accordance with the original intentions of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, large scale Jewish immigration and settlement should be effected, with the result that Palestine would become a Jewish State—i.e. a free democratic State with a Jewish majority, in which all citizens, irrespective of race or creed, would enjoy complete equality of rights with all proper safeguards for religious, cultural and linguistic needs.

(b) That if, for any reason, His Majesty's Government is not prepared at this stage to adopt a decision as to the ultimate status of Palestine and would prefer for the time being to continue the mandatory regime, the Jewish Agency would urge that the execution of the Mandate should be true to its letter and spirit, viz., that Jewish immigration be regulated up to the full extent of the country's economic absorptive capacity, that close settlement of Jews on the land be encouraged, and that no part of the country be closed to Jewish land purchase and settlement. The Jewish Agency would then also urge the promotion and development of municipal self-government and education in autonomy, and the establishment of functional boards for industrial relations, trade and industry, public health, etc.

(c) That, in the event of a final settlement being required immediately, the Jewish Agency would be ready, as stated by the Executive in its letter to His Majesty's Government of August 16, 1946, and again in the recent talks, to consider a compromise scheme for the setting up of a "viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine." If the proposed State would, on examination, be found viable and its area adequate, the Executive would recommend the acceptance of the scheme. The State should have complete control over immigration and development and be represented in the United Nations. Such a State, too, would be based on complete equality for all citizens with the necessary safeguards for religious, cultural and linguistic needs.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency regrets to state that all these suggestions were rejected by the British Delegation.

So long as a satisfactory agreement on the future of Palestine is not reached, the Jewish Agency is bound to maintain the rights of the Jewish people to return to its historic homeland and reconstitute there its National Home to the full extent envisaged in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

In accordance with the decision of the British Government announced on February 18, the British delegation to the United Nations on April 2, 1947, formally requested the Secretariat of the U.N. that the question of Palestine be placed on the Agenda of the next regular Session of the General Assembly.

The Jewish Agency welcomed the decision of the British Government to place the Palestine problem before the U.N. In March 1947 a Plenary Session of the Executive was held in Jerusalem, which lasted ten days. Every aspect of Zionist policy, internal and external, was fully discussed.

The Special Assembly of the United Nations met on April 28, 1947. It sat for over a fortnight. The five Arab member-States of the United Nations had requested that, in addition to the British motion relating to "constituting and instructing a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of Palestine at the Second Regular Session," an additional item should be placed on the Agenda to be entitled: "The termination of the Mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence." The Arab motion was rejected by the General Committee of the Assembly. In the face of strong Arab opposition, the Committee further decided to grant a hearing to the Jewish Agency for Palestine. At the same time it rejected requests for hearings submitted by other Jewish organizations.

Pursuant to this decision, Mr. D. Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, Mr. M. Sharett (then: Shertok), Head of its Political Department, and Dr. A. H. Silver, Chairman of the American Section of the Executive, appeared before the Political Committee of the Assembly. They analysed the basic roots of the Jewish world problem, set out the Zionist solution of that problem, described Jewish achievement in Palestine, and the failure of the mandatory regime, and ended up with a plea for the establishment of a Jewish State and a Jewish-Arab understanding. The appearance of the Jewish delegates made a deep impression on the Assembly. The strength and dignity of the Zionist pronouncements were in marked contrast to the crude and unbalanced utterances and threats with which the delegates of Syria and Iraq and the spokesman of the Arab Higher Committee, which had also been granted a hearing, harangued the Assembly.

While the Palestine question was thus being unfolded before the international forum of the United Nations, the regime of restriction and repression in the country continued unabated. The expulsion and detention of Jewish refugees who reached the shores of the country was pursued with relentless persistence. From December 1946 to June 1947 twelve refugee boats carrying over 13,000 persons arrived in Palestine. The boats were picked up at sea by British aircraft and destroyers and escorted to Haifa where the passengers were forcibly transferred to a waiting vessel which took them for internment to Cyprus. The circumstances of the transfer and deportation were painful to a degree. As a rule, the refugees offered resistance which was overcome by the use of tear gas and baton charges. In some cases the military made use of their arms with fatal results. Motions for writs of habeas corpus were made in the Palestine Courts on behalf of the refugees. The Courts, however, upheld the deportations after the Chief Secretary had stated in evidence that he had advised the High Commissioner that the landing of the refugees would be prejudicial to public security. This singular dictum was accepted as a valid reason at a time when it was precisely the deportations which were playing havoc with public security. Each of these deportations gave rise to a wave of indignation throughout the Jewish community. There were street demonstrations, strikes, public protests and terrorist reactions which led to more measures of repression.

As a result of the Government's repressive measures, the bitterness of the Yishuv grew from month to month. Terrorist attacks against police headquarters and other government buildings increased in frequency. The Government replied by more rigorous measures of repression. A number of death sentences were pronounced by the Military Courts. Their execution gave rise to acts of reprisal and the kidnapping of British subjects. At the beginning of February hundreds of Jewish families living in the residential quarters of Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv were summarily ejected from their homes. On March 2 the High Commissioner assumed powers to impose statutory martial law. Pursuant to these regulations, martial law was imposed on wide areas. For over two weeks Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Petah Tikva and several Jewish quarters of Jerusalem were subjected to martial law. They were denied postal, telegraph, telephone and most transport services. No goods were allowed to enter or leave these areas nor was anyone admitted except by special permit. These unprecedented measures of collective punishment, which caused severe hardship and economic dislocation to the Yishuv as a whole, only served to exacerbate feelings. All manner of repressive measures — curfews, street searches, evictions and prohibitions — were the order of the day. An elaborate code of emergency legislation conferred the most far-reaching powers on the military authorities and the police, practically abolishing the rule of law and the liberty of the subject. A vicious circle of force and repression came to engulf the country in a state of tension and insecurity.



SHARETT

## The UNSCOP Report

The only ray of light in the deepening gloom of those months was the establishment of a series of new agricultural settlements in which the pioneering spirit of Jewish youth found constructive expression. Between December 1946 and June 1947, eight new settlements were set up in various parts of the country — two in the Plain of Sharon, one in Samaria, one in Upper Galilee, one in the Hebron hills, and three in the Negev. Together with those previously established in the Negev, this brought the total number of Jewish settlements in that area up to eighteen with one thousand settlers all told. Among the pioneers were new arrivals of the Youth Immigration Movement and a group of South African Jewish ex-servicemen who had fought in the Western Desert and had pooled their gratuities to settle in Palestine. For the most part, however, the settlements were established by Palestinian born boys and girls. In the midst of the prevailing turmoil and uncertainty, these bold agricultural efforts bore testimony to the unbroken spirit of the Yishuv in its struggle against the White Paper restrictions.

The United Nations Special Committee for Palestine (UNSCOP), as the fact-finding Committee came to be known, held its first hearing at Lake Success on May 26 and finished its report on August 31, 1947.

The Report embodied two plans for the solution of the Palestine problem.

The majority report, signed by the Representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay, proposed a scheme of partition with economic union, under which Palestine was to be partitioned into an Arab State, a Jewish State, and an independent City of Jerusalem.

The minority report, signed by the Representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia, proposed a plan for the establishment of an independent federal state consisting of an Arab State and a Jewish State with Jerusalem as the capital to be established after a transitional period not to exceed three years. During this interval, responsibility for governing Palestine and preparing for its independence to rest with an authority designated by the General Assembly.

The Australian member of UNSCOP abstained from voting for either the majority or the minority plans since he believed the terms of reference of the Committee confined its activities to recording, reporting and fact-finding; that it was for the General Assembly to decide what was feasible in the light of all factors, including political factors.

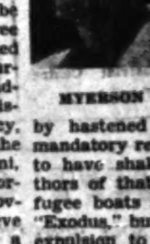
At a press conference held on September 1, 1947, the day following the publication of the Report, Mrs. Myerson, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, paid a warm tribute to the energetic efforts made by the Committee to study the problem and find a practicable solution. She stressed that the Committee, just as the Royal Commission which had studied the problem ten years earlier, had realised the necessity for Jewish independence. As regards the specific recommendations of the majority Report, she said that Zionists could hardly imagine a Jewish State without Jerusalem. She also expressed the hope that the Assembly would rectify the proposal of the Report relating to the exclusion of Western Galilee from the area of the Jewish State. She further urged that the transition period envisaged in the Report should be as short as possible. She finally made a strong appeal to the Arabs for friendship and cooperation.

## Deterioration of Civil Conditions

While the United Nations were thus moving toward the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the solution of the Palestine problem, conditions in the country were going from bad to worse. At the beginning of July the Government announced the confirmation of three death sentences passed by the Jerusalem Military Court, in connection with an attack made on the Acre prison at the beginning of May. A few days later two British sergeants were kidnapped in Nathanya. Nathanya and its environs, with a population of 15,000, were thereupon declared a "controlled area," and a strict house and road curfew was imposed. A house to house search was conducted, but the kidnapped men could not be found. On July 29 the three death sentences were carried out in Acre prison despite urgent appeals for clemency addressed to the High Commissioner by the Jewish Agency, the Chief Rabbinate and the Vaad Leumi. The Vaad Leumi, in a statement voicing the sorrow of the Yishuv at the Government's failure to reprieve the condemned men, made a strong appeal that no reprisals be taken against the two British sergeants who had been kidnapped. On the next day the bodies of the two men were found hanged in a forest near Nathanya. This was followed by a wave of assaults by soldiers against individual Jews, in the course of which six were killed and a number wounded. On August 1 representatives of the whole Yishuv, meeting in Jerusalem, expressed their horror at the murder of the two sergeants and called upon the Yishuv to eradicate terrorism and give full support to the security forces of the Yishuv.

During these months relations between the Jewish population and the mandatory authorities deteriorated to an unprecedented degree. By August 1947 the number of British troops stationed in the country had risen to 95,000.

More oil was added to the fire by the harrowing incident of the "Exodus 1947," an immigrant boat, carrying over 4,500 persons, which was rammed by the British Navy in mid-ocean and taken to Haifa, where the passengers were transferred to three British boats and carried back to Hamburg. The decision of the British Government to force the "Exodus" refugees back into Germany represented the high water mark in the British Government's war against Jewish immigration to Palestine. It aroused the conscience of the world to the tragedy of the Jewish survivors of the Nazi slaughter and to the untenability of the British Government's policy, and thereby hastened the end of the mandatory regime. It appeared to have shaken even the authors of that policy. More refugee boats arrived after the "Exodus," but never again was expulsion to Germany resorted to.



MYERSON

The General Assembly of the United Nations met in September 1947. As there were numerous political items on the agenda of the Political Committee, it was decided to set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee to consider the Palestine question. The Committee met, elected Dr. Evatt of Australia as Chairman and heard in the course of its meetings Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Mr. M. Sharett and Dr. A. H. Silver. The resolution proposing the creation of an independent unitary State of Palestine was defeated by a vote of 29 to 12, with 14 abstentions. The *Ad Hoc* Committee then considered the draft resolution based on the majority report of UNSCOP, which provided for a plan of partition with economic union. The partition plan was adopted with several amendments by a vote of 25 to 13 with 17 abstentions.

## General Assembly's Partition Plan

The General Assembly discussed the partition plan from the 26th to the 29th November. On November 29 the plan was put to a roll-call vote, and was adopted by 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions.

The Resolution provided for the termination of the British Mandate over Palestine and for the withdrawal of all British armed forces from the country by August 1, 1948. An Arab and a Jewish State were to be established in the area of the mandated territory, while an international regime was to be set up for Jerusalem and its environs.

A detailed plan was adopted providing for the termination of the Mandate, the partition of the country and the establishment of the two independent States for the holding of elections for the two Constituent Assemblies and the making of Declarations by the Provisional Governments relating to the safeguarding of holy places, religious buildings and sites, the protection of religious and minority rights, as well as numerous transitional arrangements.

While the General Assembly was moving towards its historic decision, the Yishuv in Palestine was beginning to prepare for coming events. In an address delivered at the Sixth Session of the Assefat Hanivharim (Elected Assembly of the Jewish Community of Palestine) on October 2, 1947, Mr. Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Jewish Agency, welcomed the British decision to withdraw from Palestine. He said: "There can be no settlement, nor can Palestine become really independent, unless a Jewish State is established ... The Jewish people will make every effort to achieve a Jewish-Arab alliance, and the policy of the Jewish State will aim at permanent Jewish-Arab co-operation in the Near East as well as throughout the world for peace, prosperity and progress of both Semitic peoples within the framework of the United Nations ..."

Mr. Ben Gurion further stressed that in view of the

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forthcoming transition from the Mandatory administration to independence, the problem of the Yishuv's security must be regarded as paramount and that an effective security regime must be set up encompassing every Jew in the country. There must be no vacuum or disorder, he said, during the interim period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the new order.

The Assefat Hanivharim passed a resolution urging that immediately after the adoption of the decision of the General Assembly, a Provisional Government of the Jewish State should be established for the purpose of taking over the administration from the Mandatory Government.

On November 10, an all-party "General Security Committee" was established for the purpose of mobilising the entire Yishuv for its defence. At a meeting of the Vaad Leumi held on the following day it was decided to set up a Mobilization Fund of half a million pounds to be raised before the end of the year. The campaign for the Fund was launched at a Plenary Meeting of the Vaad Leumi held at the Habimah Theatre in Tel Aviv on November 25. To facilitate the collection of subscriptions, it was decided to observe a voluntary house curfew on December 8 between 4 and 11 p.m. The campaign was a marked success, nearly LP.700,000 being raised within one month.

While the Yishuv was taking these precautionary measures, activities in the field of immigration and settlement went on without interruption.

## Britain Decides to Withdraw

Preparations for coming events were not limited to the Yishuv. In a statement made to representatives of the foreign press on October 8, the High Commissioner elaborated on the declaration of the British Colonial Secretary that, in the event of no agreement being reached between Jews and Arabs, Great Britain would withdraw from Palestine. He said that the British people were sick and tired of trying to bring about an understanding between Jews and Arabs for twenty-five years. They wanted to see some agreement leading up to some form of independence, but in the event of this not coming off, Britain was determined to withdraw.

On November 27, two days before the decision at Lake Success, the British High Commissioner paid a farewell visit to Beersheba. In addressing a meeting of tribal chiefs, he said that the British would be responsible for law and order in any area as long as they remained in control. About the same time the first measures were taken by the Administration in anticipation of the coming withdrawal. On October 27 the "Security Zone" in Tel Aviv was evacuated by the British military forces. During the month of November, the Government ordered the transfer of huge military supplies from Palestine to selected dumps in East Africa.

More ominous preparations were being started in the Arab camp. At the beginning of October the Council of the Arab League met at Beirut. After a public meeting held in the presence of members of the Diplomatic Corps and local and foreign correspondents, the Council went into closed session. On the following day the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el Husseini, and Fawzi Kaukji, a leader of the Arab bands in the 1936 disturbances, arrived in Beirut to take part in the deliberations. The following communique was issued after the meeting: "In view of Britain's statement that she would abandon the Mandate and evacuate her troops and administration from Palestine, and considering the presence of Zionist forces — terrorist organizations which threaten the peace of the Arabs — in Palestine, the Council considers that the situation demands of the Arab States that they take military measures along the border. The Council recommends that the Arab Governments should prepare to take these precautions and that the States adjoining Palestine should open the way for the non-neighbouring States so that they can participate in this common duty."

It was further announced that the Council had decided that the secret resolutions adopted at the Bludan Conference in May 1946, which envisaged armed intervention of the Arab States in Palestine, would be put into force if the United Nations decided in favour of the partition of Palestine.

The historic decision taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 29, 1947 evoked widely divergent reactions among the people of Palestine. The Jews, practically unanimously, accepted it. The Arabs, for the most part, rejected it. When the news arrived, shortly after midnight, there was a spontaneous outburst of rejoicing throughout Jewish Palestine. Crowds sang and danced in the streets. In the synagogues the *shofar* was blown. Bonfires signalled the news from the hilltops. Boys and girls danced the hora till the hours of the morning. In Tel Aviv a hundred thousand people filled the streets of the city. In Jerusalem crowds marched to the Jewish Agency building and an endless *hora* was danced in the great courtyard. The Zionist flag was unfurled, and Mrs. Myerson, the head of the Political Department, with other members of the Executive and leading officials of the Agency, came out of the balcony to address the crowd: "It is impossible," she said, "to put into words what Jews in Palestine and in all parts of the world feel at this moment. We laboured for this moment, we hoped for it, we sacrificed for it. We had faith that it would come. And now that it has come, it is beyond our power to express what we feel." There were demonstrations and processions throughout the day in every part of the country.



SILVER

A special meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive, convened immediately upon receipt of the news from Lake Success, issued an urgent appeal to the Jews and the Arabs, in which it was said:

"The main theme behind the spontaneous celebrations we are witnessing today is the Yishuv's desire to seek peace and its determination to achieve fruitful cooperation with the Arabs. We hope that the Arab masses will not allow themselves to be misled into any acts of violence. The Jewish people are also called on not to allow themselves to be provoked into any irresponsible deeds."

The Arab terror had become particularly virulent since the ex-Mufti's return to the Middle East. The result was that the decision of the United Nations found the Arabs of Palestine cowed into submission to the policies of the extremists. For months past a violent campaign of incitement had been conducted by their press organs. The Arab population was told that if the United Nations were to endorse partition, the secret resolutions adopted by the Arab League at the Bludan Conference in May 1946 would be translated into action and the whole Middle East would mobilise to fight the Jews and the United Nations. The anti-Jewish boycott proclaimed by the Arab League in December 1946 was ruthlessly enforced, "boycott bombs" being planted in any Arab shop or warehouse suspected of dealing with Jews. Elaborate plans were made for meeting the anticipated decisions of the United Nations Assembly by a campaign of violence. The organization of armed bands built up during the pre-war disturbances was revived and considerably expanded. "Arab Front" groups were formed all over the country and Arab "National Committees" set up in the towns. The Arab youth organizations were, by persuasion or force, brought under the sway of the Husseinis. The stage was thus set for action. Only the signal was needed. The decision of the United Nations provided the spark that lighted the fuse.



*DAVID BEN GURION*

## State of Lawlessness

On November 30, the day after the U.N. Resolution had been adopted, eight Jews were killed on the Haifa-Jerusalem road on the Tel Aviv boundary. This was followed during the next few days by Arab attacks on Jews in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Safad, Ramle and other parts of the country. The Arab Higher Executive proclaimed a three-day strike which was the signal for the commencement of the disturbances. These began in Jerusalem on December 2 with an Arab mob attacking the Commercial Centre and the adjoining streets. Almost the whole of the Commercial Centre, containing most of the city's Jewish warehouses, went up in flames. After a few days it became unsafe for any Jew to leave the Jewish quarters. Jerusalem became divided into watertight Jewish and Arab areas separated by road blocks. Traffic to the Jewish Quarter of the Old City had to be organized in convoys. Soon this isolated quater became the target of continuous Arab attacks. The road to the University and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus was endangered by Arab sniping. Time and again buses and ambulances were fired at, and hospital personnel and others killed. There was similar insecurity in the southern area of the city. Shooting was continuous and took a heavy toll of the civilian population and the defenders. Municipal services became increasingly paralysed. In the end it was found impossible to maintain the pretence of a single municipality, and municipal offices for the Jewish quarters were opened in the western part of the capital.

All over the country Arab attacks on Jewish highway traffic, Jewish settlements and town quarters became the order of the day. The Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road, the border areas between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, the Jewish quarters of Haifa and the agricultural settlements in the Negev, became principal targets. In the first week of the rioting thirty-six Jews were killed. Highway traffic between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv was ambushed with heavy loss of life. The agricultural settlements in the Hebron area were subjected to constant attacks. Gradually the disturbances came to engulf the Emek, Galilee and the Jordan Valley. Within a few weeks the whole country had lapsed into a state of lawlessness and general insecurity.

## Hagana Hampered by Police

There was nothing spontaneous in the Arab outbreak. It was a calculated move of the Arab leadership, designed to demonstrate to the United Nations that its decision had only produced bloodshed and was incapable of realization. There were at the beginning indications that some sections of the Arab population of Palestine had little inclination to join the fray. There were instances of delegations being sent by Arab villages to their Jewish neighbours, assuring them that they would not take part in the disturbances. On the Jewish side every effort was made to persuade the Arab population not to follow the advice of those who were inciting them to violence. All these efforts, however, were frustrated by the policy of intimidation pursued by the Arab leadership which acted with characteristic duplicity. It spread reports in the foreign press that the Arab Higher Executive was urging restraint, while issuing orders to the gunmen to redouble their efforts.

On December 18 the Arabic press reported that some two thousand Arab families from Palestine had been evacuated from "danger zones" in Palestine and housed in temporary camps in the Lebanon. It was the first instance of the policy of Arab evacuation pursued by the Arab Higher Executive, on the advice of and in conjunction with the neighbouring Arab States, which was later on to assume large proportions.

The Jewish reaction to the Arab outbreak was one of marked restraint. The Yishuv clearly realized the gravity of the challenge and refrained from any indiscriminate reprisals. This attitude was maintained even when feeling ran high after some particularly outrageous murder, such as the ambush of the Haganah platoon of thirty-five who went to the help of Kfar Etzion. The Haganah was everywhere in action. It reacted to every attack and in a number of cases inflicted heavy punishment on the Arab gunmen. Anything, however, in the nature of an indiscriminate attack against the Arab population was sternly discouraged.

Members of the Haganah were charged before the Military Courts and given savage sentences for the possession of arms, in marked contrast to the failure of the authorities to bring the Arab gunmen to trial. The same attitude was evident in the failure of the authorities to protect traffic on the highways, in particular on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road, the main supply line of the capital. Day after day Jewish motor traffic was attacked in Ramle, in a number of instances with fatal results, but nothing could induce the authorities to proclaim a curfew even for a few hours a day to ensure a safe passage for travellers and essential supplies. Instead of extending protection to highway traffic, it became the practice of the British police to search Jewish cars and lorries for arms, not infrequently just after they had been attacked by the Arab bands. Nor was anything effective done to stop the railway holdups which yielded a rich harvest of loot to the Arab gunmen.

The Arab police in the towns and in the countryside began in increasing measure to desert with their arms in order to join the bands. When the Haifa Jewish community applied to the Government for permission to establish special constabulary, similar to the one formed during the pre-war disturbances, to protect Jews working in isolated places or in establishments where they were largely outnumbered by Arabs, this was turned down on the ground that there was a general plan for maintaining security throughout the country. It was the absence of such a protective force that rendered possible the wholesale massacre of Jewish employees in the Haifa Refineries at the end of December. Things developed at such a pace that before the year was out it could be asserted that as far as the defence of the Jews was concerned, the Palestine Police had practically ceased to exist.

The unfriendly attitude of the British authorities was also evident in the retention of units of the Transjordan Frontier Force and of the Arab Legion in Jewish areas. Time and again members of these forces attacked individual Jews, Jewish quarters and Jewish highway traffic, with fatal results; yet the Government declined to withdraw these forces from the Jewish areas. As the British troops were in the process of withdrawing from the country, it became the practice of the security authorities to station Arab Legionaries in the key positions formerly occupied by them, the Government maintaining that the Arab Legion in Palestine formed an integral part of the British Army and might therefore be used to replace British units. As a result, the Arab Legion was enabled to entrench itself in the very heart of Jewish Palestine even before the Mandate was liquidated.

## Arab Irregulars Attack

A fortnight after the beginning of the disturbances the Council of the Arab League met in Cairo. At the conclusion of its deliberations a communique was published challenging the decision of the United Nations on Palestine and indicating that effective steps would be taken to do away with the partition plan and to convince the world that the Arabs could not be coerced by any force whatever.

On January 9 a force of about eight hundred Arabs, wearing uniforms and equipped with automatic weapons and machine guns and led by Syrian officers, attacked the Jewish settlements of Kfar Szold and Dan in northern Galilee from across the Syrian border. The settlers returned the fire and held the attackers at bay, inflicting severe losses on them. On the same evening another band of Arab invaders from Syria, led by Fawzi Kaukji, the commander-in-chief of the Arab "Liberation Army," was surprised by a Hagana patrol which inflicted several casualties on his guerrilla band. Kaukji and his men retreated over the border.

During the following weeks, Arab irregulars, equipped and financed by the neighbouring States, continued to infiltrate across the northern frontier and across he Jordan without any hindrance on the part of the British authorities. The invaders encamped in various parts of the country. Their main stronghold was the Nablus-Jenin-Tulkarm triangle. By the middle of February their number was estimated by foreign correspondents at approximately fifteen thousand. They included a number of British deserters and German prisoners of war released from camps in the Middle East. On various occasions the Jewish Agency urged on the Government that steps be taken to stop the invasion, but was met with the reply that the country's long frontier-line prevented any effective boundary control from being exercised. As the weeks passed, the invading armies took over the complete administrative control of the areas they had occupied.

The position of the Jewish defence forces was further aggravated by their inability to secure effective weapons. While the United States imposed an embargo on the sending of arms to the Middle East, and the British Royal Navy and Royal Air Force maintained a heavy blockade of the Palestine coast, the Arab States continued to be supplied with every form of military equipment and arms. On January 14 the British Government declared that it would continue to provide arms to the Arab States pursuant to its treaty obligations, although it was clear that such arms would be used mainly, if not indeed exclusively, against the Jews of Palestine.

## Anti-Jewish Outrages

The situation was further aggravated by a series of anti-Jewish outrages committed in the heart of Jewish Jerusalem. On the night of February 1, the offices of the "Palestine Post", situated in the centre of Jerusalem, were blown up by a five-ton army-type lorry which had been driven up to the building and parked outside the press room. About twenty persons were hurt, four of whom died in hospital. The damage to the buildings and presses amounted to over a hundred thousand pounds. The truck had been able to proceed through the Jewish road-blocks because the Jewish Civil Guards were forbidden to stop or search British army vehicles.

Worse was to follow. In the early hours of February 22, a fearful explosion which occurred in Ben Yehuda Street, the centre of Jewish Jerusalem, shook the entire city. Fifty-two people were killed, and many more wounded and maimed. The outrage was the work of English-speaking men in British army and police uniforms, who planted the explosives in army vehicles.

On March 11 an attempt was made to blow up the Jewish Agency building. A car belonging to the U.S. Consulate loaded with explosives, was driven by an Arab chauffeur of the Consulate into the courtyard and left there. Shortly afterwards an explosion occurred which killed thirteen people—mostly officials of the Keren Hayesod—wounded over fifty and damaged part of the building.

While the Hagana was holding back the assaults of the Arab gunmen and irregular forces, preparations were set on foot for a total mobilization of the Yishuv to meet the danger of an Arab invasion across the frontiers. Early in December, a "National Service Census Board" was set up by the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi to direct the recruiting of Jewish manpower. There was an enthusiastic response from all classes and sections of the community.

The financial mobilization of the Yishuv continued apace. At a security rally held in Tel-Aviv on February 17, it was decided to raise a sum of two and a half million pounds for the prosecution of the struggle in the coming months. At the same time, the Jewish Agency launched a series of emergency campaigns abroad to finance the Yishuv's defence. The campaigns covered eight countries — South Africa, Great Britain, the Argentine, Uruguay, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium and Italy. By the middle of February, two million pounds had been raised in these countries.

At the same time, preparations for the establishment of the Jewish State were being pushed forward energetically.

During the months of December and January, the entire framework of the structure and machinery of the future government of the Jewish State was prepared.

## Implementation Commission

The General Assembly, in passing its resolution on the partition of Palestine, had appointed a United Nations Palestine Commission for the purpose of implementing the partition plan.

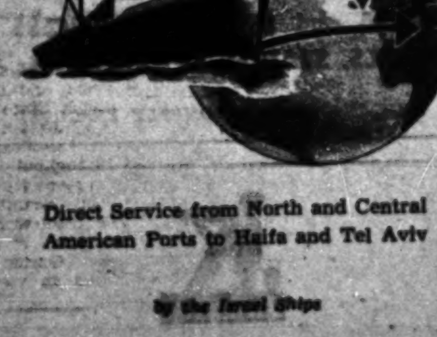
The Commission at first attempted to cope with the state of disturbances prevailing in the country and to make arrangements for taking over successive areas as the British withdrew from them. It was, however, informed by the British Government that the latter would retain undivided control over all of Palestine until May 15, 1948, the date of the termination of the Mandate, when responsibility for the government as a whole would be relinquished — not piecemeal. This, as the Commission subsequently reported, prevented any coordination of its own plans with those of the Mandatory. When the Commission sought to enter Palestine, it was informed that "His Majesty's Government would not regard favourably any proposal by the Commission to proceed to Palestine earlier than two weeks before the date of the termination of the Mandate." This attitude frustrated all endeavours of the Palestine Commission to arrange for an orderly transfer of authority from the Mandatory Power. On April 10, 1948, it reported to the General Assembly that "the armed hostility of both Palestinian and non-Palestinian Arab elements, the lack of cooperation

(Continued on Page 12)

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# CONGRESS TO STATE

(Continued from Page 11)

tion from the Mandatory Power, the disintegrating security situation in Palestine, and the fact that the Security Council did not furnish the Commission with the necessary armed assistance, are the factors which have made it impossible for the Commission to implement the Assembly resolution." The report concluded that in the absence of forces adequate to restore and maintain law and order following the termination of the Mandate, there would be administrative chaos, starvation and bloodshed in the country, including Jerusalem. These calamitous results, the Commission added, would be intensified unless specific arrangements were made for taking over the administration of the country well in advance of May 15, 1949.

In the light of these grave developments and the growing intransigence of the Arab leadership, the Security Council became prone to counsels of doubt and diffidence. On March 19, the United States delegate proposed that the Palestine Commission should suspend its efforts of implementation until the General Assembly had had an opportunity of re-examining the whole question, including the desirability of establishing a temporary trusteeship for Palestine. After lengthy discussions, it was decided to convene a second Special Session of the General Assembly. The latter met at Lake Success on April 16, 1948.

The United States submitted a "working paper" for the establishment of a trusteeship for Palestine for a specified interim period.

The American reversal of policy caused amazement and bitter disappointment in the Yishuv and throughout the Jewish world.

In the Arab camp the trusteeship proposal gave strong encouragement to the extremists. It was not unnaturally interpreted by them as the direct outcome of their policy of armed violence and as holding out the promise of a complete abandonment of the partition plan if the Arab attack on the Yishuv were pressed home.

From the beginning of March onwards, hostilities throughout the country became more intense. Fighting now ranged over practically every area. In the Sharon, Iraqi forces attacked the Jewish settlements of Magdiel and Kfar Saba, but in the end retreated with heavy losses. In the Negev, repeated assaults were made on the Jewish settlements. They were successively repulsed, but ambushs of Jewish convoys continued. In Galilee, the Arab "Liberation Army" under the command of Fawzi el Kaukji launched an attack on Mishmar Haemek which commands the strategic road from the Emek to the coastal plain. A fierce battle was fought which ended with the decisive defeat of the "Liberation Army" which was pursued as far as Jenin.

## Jerusalem Defenders Battle

Towards the end of March, the Jewish defence forces decided to make an all-out effort to reopen the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road to enable food supplies to be brought to the capital. During the first days of April they secured control of the mountain stronghold of Castel, dominating the western approaches to Jerusalem. Proceeding further west, they attacked the Arab bands, held the hills long enough to enable the food convoy to pass, and then retired as they were heavily outnumbered. Three times this operation was repeated, and on April 13, 17 and 20 large supply convoys from the coast arrived in Jerusalem, enabling the city to hold out until the truce. In the course of this fighting, the Arab forces were driven back to the Trappist monastery at Latrun, which subsequently became their main base for attacking the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road.

In the Old City of Jerusalem, the Jewish Quarter cut off from the rest of the city, formed a constant target of Arab machine-gun and mortar fire. When the Jewish defence forces in the Quarter replied, they found themselves shelled by the British troops stationed in the area, whose fire on one occasion damaged the ancient Hurva Synagogue, the oldest Jewish house of prayer in Jerusalem. Throughout, the British civil and military authorities exercised strong pressure on the Jewish community to evacuate the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

The heroic effort made by Hagana to defend Jerusalem was marred by a barbarous attack of dissident groups at the beginning of April on the Arab village of Deir Yassin, three kilometres west of Jerusalem, in the course of which over two hundred and fifty Arabs were killed, among them many women and children. Two days later, the dissident groups left the place which was thereupon occupied by Hagana. The Executive of the Jewish Agency, in a public statement, expressed its horror and disgust at the action of the dissidents.

On April 13 there occurred in Jerusalem one of the most dastardly events in the whole campaign. Ever since the beginning of the disturbances, the road to the Hadassah Hospital and the University on Mount Scopus had become unsafe. Ambulances were frequently attacked by snipers and a number of passengers were killed.

For a time the British Army supplied escorts for the convoys, but later these were discontinued. On April 13, a convoy, carrying Hospital and University personnel, accompanied by two Jewish escort vehicles, was ambushed at Sheikh Jarrah by a mob of more than a thousand strong. The attack lasted for seven hours, almost under the eyes of the British forces stationed in the neighbourhood. When at last the British Army intervened, seventy-seven of the trapped party had perished from bullets and grenades or had been burnt alive. Some of Israel's finest scientists and medical men were among the dead.

Twelve days after this dastardly attack, Jewish defence forces drove the Arab gunmen out of the Sheikh Jarrah Quarter from which the Hadassah convoy had been ambushed. After the operation had been successfully completed, British troops intervened and ordered the Jews to withdraw, on the ground that the area was required for the withdrawal of British troops. The Army gave an assurance that all Arabs would be evacuated from this area and that traffic proceeding to the Hadassah Hospital, the Hebrew University and the Jewish settlements of Neve Yaacov and Atarot would be guaranteed the use of the road. Military rule was proclaimed in the zone. Shortly afterwards, however, the Arabs were again allowed to infiltrate and to occupy Sheikh Jarrah. It was thus by the action of the British Army that the road to the University and the Hadassah Hospital was again closed to Jewish traffic, after it had been conquered from the Arabs by Jewish defence forces.

Shortly thereafter, Jewish forces in Jerusalem succeeded in capturing the strategically important Katamon Quarter, from which Jewish Jerusalem had been attacked almost incessantly for four months. This enabled them to establish a secure line of defence to the outlying southern suburbs of Mekor Haim and Talpiot, and to open the way to the harassed agricultural settlement of Ramat Rahel.

In mid-April, Jewish forces occupied the city of Tiberias. A local truce arranged between the Arab and Jewish populations had remained in force for nearly a month. It was then broken by Arab terrorists who had entered Tiberias from outside. In the wake of these events practically the whole Arab population, numbering about six thousand, moved in long convoys out of the town. The exodus was a result of orders given by the Arab authorities.

A striking success was achieved by the Jewish defence forces towards the end of April when they occupied Haifa. After a thirty-hour battle the Arab bands, which for four months had been murderously attacking the Jewish population of Haifa from every quarter, were routed. Sweeping down from Mount Carmel, the Jewish defence forces made a three-pronged attack on the principal Arab quarters of the lower city. The Jewish occupation of the Arab sector of the town was followed by a mass exodus of the Arab population, who streamed to the seashore and were taken to Acre by British army landing craft. A truce was thereupon arranged through the intermediary of the British military authorities, providing for the disarmament of the Arab forces and the surrender of all foreign Arab troops and of the Germans fighting with them.

As in Tiberias, the evacuation was carried out by order of the Arab political authorities and against the wishes of the Jewish forces, whose terms of truce permitted the Arab civil population to remain in undisturbed possession of their homes. The same exodus occurred and for the same reasons when afterwards Jewish forces secured control of Safad.

At the end of April, following many weeks of fighting on the Tel Aviv-Jaffa border, and heavy loss of life caused by sniping upon Tel Aviv from Jaffa's minarets, the Jews launched an attack against Jaffa. The Government warned the Mayor of Tel Aviv that the British Army would use force to prevent the Jews from capturing Jaffa. The British Army accordingly moved into the Manshieh Quarter between the Jewish and the Arab lines. On May 9, following the evacuation of most of the seventy thousand inhabitants of Jaffa, the three-man Jaffa Emergency Committee requested the Palestine Government to have the town declared an open city. Two days later, British troops evacuated Jaffa Port, and the Jaffa Emergency Committee thereupon signed an agreement with the Hagana Command in Tel Aviv for the surrender of the city.

The last two weeks of the mandatory regime witnessed


עיתון רשמי

*Facsimile of the Declaration of Independence gazetted on May 14, 1948*

the first stages in the invasion of Palestine by regular Arab troops. At the beginning of May, Syrian and Lebanese forces crossed the northern frontier and attacked a number of Jewish settlements near the border. For several days Lebanese troops shelled Ramot Naphtali about four kilometres inside the border. The settlers drove off the attacking forces, seized a considerable quantity of arms and destroyed some of the guns used by the enemy.

On the 19th of May, after weeks of bitter fighting, Safad fell to Hagana forces. About three thousand Arab guerillas, including many Syrians and Iraqis, fled to the west. About the same time, Hagana forces occupied numerous villages and strategic positions in the country.

## Loss of Kfar Etzion

The only major setback suffered was the loss of the Kfar Etzion bloc in the Hebron mountains. For many weeks the four settlements had been exposed to almost uninterrupted attack On the 4th of May they repulsed a heavy assault by the Arab Legion which, in Palestine, was then still under British command. In the early hours of the 12th, the Legion began an all-out attack on Kfar Etzion, supported by field-guns, armoured cars and heavy machine-gun fire. Though faced by overwhelming odds, the settlers succeeded in holding the Legion at bay. A number of armoured cars and tanks were put out of action, and heavy losses were inflicted on the assailants. On the next morning the battle was resumed with increased violence. Following a heavy artillery bombardment, the Legion launched an infantry attack on Kfar Etzion. It was again repulsed with heavy losses and a number of armoured cars were smashed. In the afternoon, however, a second general attack was launched, and this time the Legion succeeded in penetrating the fortifications of the settlement. The defenders put up a heroic fight, but were in the end overpowered by the superior numbers of the Legion and the Arab irregulars. The other three settlements continued to fight for another day. In the afternoon of the 14th, resistance having become hopeless, the whole block surrendered to the Legion. All men of fighting age were taken prisoners of war and sent to Trans-Jordan. The settlements themselves were utterly destroyed.

The loss of the Kfar Etzion bloc on the very eve of the proclamation of the State of Israel was a serious blow. The defeat was due to the isolated position of the settlements which made it impossible for reinforcements to be sent to them, and to the overwhelming numbers and equipment of the Arab Legion forces which were commanded by British officers. The heroism of the settlers of Kfar Etzion, women no less than men, who stubbornly defended every field and building, and most of whom lost their lives, forms one of the noblest chapters in Israel's war of liberation.

## Proclamation of the State

While the struggle in Palestine was moving fast towards its climax, the discussions in the General Assembly and Security Council at Lake Success dragged on without producing any results. In the end, the United States abandoned the trusteeship plan, more especially after it had become known that other Governments were not prepared to provide armed contingents to carry the scheme into effect. Instead of this, the Assembly adopted a plan for the appointment of a United Nations "Mediator" who was "to use his good offices with the local and community authorities in Palestine" with a view to promoting "a peaceful adjustment of the future situation of Palestine."

It was while these proposals were being discussed in the afternoon of May 14 that the Representative of the Jewish Agency rose and made the announcement that a few hours earlier on that day the State of Israel had been proclaimed.

The last few weeks of the British regime were marked by a growing and in the end complete paralysis of the public services. The railways had long ceased to function. Upon the evacuation of Lydda airport by the British forces, regular air communications between Palestine and the outer world came to an end. Postal services were discontinued one after another. The machinery of government was being liquidated in a reckless fashion without any concern for the needs of the population or for the requirements of the successor authorities. Official files were being destroyed en masse, bonfires being lit outside government offices. Shortly before the end of the Mandate, the Arab bands blew up sections of the Jerusalem water pipeline. It was a first earnest of the satanic plan, subsequently put into force, to subdue Jewish Jerusalem by thirst.

After the failure of the efforts for an ordered transfer of governmental powers to the successor authorities through the intermediary of the U.N. Palestine Commission, a Consular Commission consisting of the American, Belgian and French Consuls General in Jerusalem was set up by the Security Council to bring about a truce.

When it became clear that the Arabs were not prepared to cease hostilities in the country as a whole, the High Commissioner early in May made an urgent appeal for a truce to be observed at least in Jerusalem. The appeal was reinforced by the arrival of strong British forces in the capital, including heavy tanks. This proved effective, and during the last few days of the mandatory regime a semblance of peace prevailed in the city. It lasted until the day prior to the termination of the mandate. On the morning of May 14, the High Commissioner left Jerusalem for Haifa, where he embarked for England. He was followed shortly afterwards by the British troops stationed in the capital. Their departure was the signal for the concerted invasion of Palestine by the regular forces of the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Egypt.

On April 6, the Zionist General Council met in Tel Aviv and decided to set up a National Council to be composed of the elected representatives of the World Zionist Movement resident in Palestine and of the Executive of the Vaad Leumi together with representatives of public bodies not represented on these institutions. It was further agreed that Arabs resident in the area of the Jewish State who recognised its authority would be given representation on the National Council. The Council was to consist of thirty-seven members representing all groups and interests in Palestine. In addition, a National Administration of thirteen members was to be formed, to be responsible to the National Council. It was subsequently set up and met for the first time in Tel Aviv on April 25.

The Zionist General Council furthermore decided to authorise the raising of a National Loan.

On the 11th of May the five million pound Jewish National Loan decided upon by the Zionist General Council was formally launched by the Jewish Agency. The success of the loan was an impressive demonstration of the Yishuv's maturity, strikingly in contrast with the monetary panic which had broken out in the Arab areas where the run on the banks, foreign as well as local, had been such that all banks had to close their offices.

On May 13, the Jewish National Administration met in Tel Aviv to hear a report from Mr. Moshe Sharett (Shertok) who had just returned from the United States where he had been in charge of the direction of the political activities of the Agency Executive. The National Administration discussed final plans for the proposed proclamation of Independence in the light of Mr. Sharett's report.

At midnight, Friday, May 14, the British Mandate for Palestine came to an end. On the same day, at 4 p.m., the State of Israel was proclaimed by a meeting of the Jewish National Council held in the Museum of Tel-Aviv — 1879 years after the destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. There were present eleven members of the National Administration (two members being unable to leave besieged Jerusalem), the members of the National Council, the Chief Rabbis of Tel Aviv, representatives of the Zionist Organisation, of the Jewish national institutions, the National Funds, foreign and local press, art and literature, members of the Tel Aviv Municipality, the Commanders-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff of the Hagana and other high military officers, various Consuls, representatives of the political parties, and representatives of all walks of life.

At 4 p.m. Mr. David Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and of the National Administration, read out the text of the Declaration of Independence. When he pronounced the words "State of Israel," the assembly broke out into prolonged cheers. Tears filled the eyes of many of those present. Mr. Ben Gurion then read out the first Bill, providing for the annulment of the laws enacted under the White Paper of 1939. The Declaration and the Bill were passed by acclamation. All members of the National Council signed the Declaration of Independence. The festive act ended with the solemn announcement of the Chairman: "The State of Israel has been established."

The dream of Herzl had been fulfilled. The Jewish National Home, recognised by international public law, which had been postulated in the Basle programme, was a reality.

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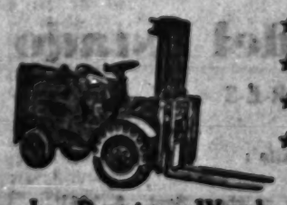
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